Sarfoji Rajah. 1829

THE

HISTORY

OF

MODERN EUROPE:

1720

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE

DECLINE AND FALL

OF

THE ROMAN EMPIRE;

AND

A View of the Progress of Society,

FROM

THE RISE OF THE MODERN KINGDOMS

TO THE

Peace of Paris in 1763.

IN

A SERIES OF LETTERS FROM
A NOBLEMAN TO HIS SON.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

A NEW EDITION,
STUDIOUSLY REVISED AND CAREFULLY CORRECTED.

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A

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF

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THE

HISTORY

OF

MODERN EUROPE.

PART II.

FROM THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA, IN 1648, TO THE PEACE OF PARIS, IN 1763.

LETTER XXVI.

A General View of the Affairs of Europe, from the Death of Louis XIV. in 1715, *to the Death of the Emperor Charles VI. in* 1740.

THE period on which we are now entering is, happily, distinguished by few great events; for great events are generally connected with great calamities. The war, that had so long ravaged the finest part of Europe, had ceased at the peace of Utrecht, and discord seemed to have left the earth with the restless spirit of Louis XIV.; but a certain degree of agitation remained, like the rolling of the waves after a storm. A. D. 1715.

The progress of the rebellion in Britain, against the authority of king George, I have already had occasion to trace. The speedy and fortunate suppression of that rebellion, as must ever be the case in all free governments, increased the influence of the crown. The Whig-ministry, no longer under any apprehensions from the encroachments of arbitrary

power, and willing to crush their political enemies, without foreseeing the stab they were giving to public liberty, framed a bill for repealing the Triennial Act (lately thought essential, by their own party, to the freedom of the English constitution), and for *extending* the *duration* of *parliaments* to the term of SEVEN YEARS. This bill, though warmly opposed by the Tories (who now, in contradiction to their principles, took the popular side of all questions), and by many independent and unprejudiced members of both houses, was carried by a great majority: and the king, by the uniform support of the Whigs, who in their love of power forgot their republican maxims, found himself firmly seated on the British throne.

A. D. 1716.

The authority of the duke of Orleans, who acted as regent of France during the minority of Louis XV., was less perfectly established. He had a powerful faction to struggle with; and therefore judged it prudent to strengthen himself by alliances. But it will be proper, my dear Philip, before I enter into the particulars of those alliances, to turn your eye, for a moment, toward another quarter of Europe.

The Turks, who are far from being profound politicians, happily remained quiet while the Christian princes were most deeply embroiled among themselves; but, when the general peace had been concluded, Ahmed III., inflamed with the hopes of glory and conquest, declared war against the republic of Venice. In the first campaign (that of 1715), his troops invaded the Morea, or ancient Peloponnesus, reduced the citadel of Corinth, Napoli di Romania, and other towns and fortresses, and marked their course with wanton and atrocious barbarity. The emperor Charles VI., as guarantee of the treaty of Carlowitz, by which the Morea had been assigned to the republic of Venice, was bound in honour to declare war against the Turks for infringing it; and the pope, alarmed at the progress of the infidels, urged his imperial majesty to stand forth in defence of Christendom. Charles accordingly assembled a

powerful army, under prince Eugene; who passed the Danube, and attacked the forces of the grand signor near Peterwaradin. With the loss of about 5000 men on the part of the imperialists, above 25,000 of the Turks were slain or drowned [r]. In another campaign the prince undertook the siege of Belgrade. The Turks advanced to its relief, and besieged him in his camp. His danger was imminent: but military skill and disciplined valour triumphed over numbers and savage ferocity. He sallied out of his entrenchments, routed his adversaries with great slaughter, and took their cannon, baggage, and every thing belonging to their camp. Belgrade surrendered immediately after.

Aug. 5. N. S.

A. D. 1717.

Aug. 16.

The consequence of these two victories was the peace of Passarowitz, by which the Porte ceded to the emperor Belgrade and the whole district of Temeswar. But the Venetians, on whose account the war had been undertaken, did not recover their possessions in Greece: the Morea was left, and still remains, in the hands of the Turks.

A. D. 1718.

While the arms of the emperor were employed against the infidels, a new enemy was rising up against him in Christendom, and even from the bosom of the catholic church. Philip V. of Spain, having lost his first queen, Maria Louisa of Savoy, had married, in 1714, Elizabeth Farnese, presumptive heiress of the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany. This marriage, which not a little alarmed the emperor, was chiefly brought about by the intrigues of Alberoni, a native of Placentia, who soon rose to the highest favour at the court of Madrid, and was honoured by the pope with a cardinal's hat. The princess Ursini, who had long directed the affairs of Spain, and who, it is said, might have shared the throne, had she not hoped to govern more absolutely and less invidiously by means of another, was now ordered to quit the kingdom. The new

[r] *Campagnes du Prince Eugene en Hongrie*, tome i.

queen, who was a woman of spirit, governed alone her too easy husband; and Alberoni governed the queen, by flattering her ambition [1].

The bold, rather than correct or illuminated, genius of that minister, formed the most extraordinary projects. The principal as well as most rational of these, though in itself sufficiently romantic, was to recover all the territories that Spain had ceded at the peace of Utrecht, but more especially her Italian dominions. This idea seems to have occupied the mind of Alberoni when he negotiated the union of Philip with the princess of Parma, whose interest in Italy was great, and for whose offspring those speculative conquests were designed, as all hopes of their succeeding to the Spanish monarchy were cut off by the children of the first marriage. For the promotion of that ambitious project, which was highly flattering to the queen, he laboured indefatigably, and with no small degree of success, to put the Spanish finances on a respectable footing, while he new-modeled and greatly augmented both the army and navy.

The cardinal, however, did not rely merely on the resources of Spain for the execution of so great an undertaking. He extended his negotiations and intrigues to every court in Europe. He endeavoured to engage the Turks, notwithstanding their losses, to continue the war against the emperor, whom he intended to deprive of his Italian conquests. He persuaded Philip that his renunciation was invalid, and that he had still a better right than the duke of Orleans, not only to the crown of France, in case of the death of Louis XV. without male issue, but also to the regency during the minority of that prince. In hopes of bringing about this important revolution, and becoming prime minister both of France and Spain, he studiously inflamed the French malcontents. He also encouraged the Scottish Jacobites, with whom he held a secret correspondence; and

[1] *Mem. de Noailles*, tome iii.

he had formed a scheme, as I have already hinted, of acquiring a new and powerful ally to his master, by placing the Pretender on the throne of Great Britain. But these dazzling projects soon vanished into air, and this meteor of a moment disappeared with them.

We have seen in what manner the intrigues of the baron de Goertz were defeated, by the seisure of the papers of count Gyllenborg and the subsequent death of Charles. Those of Alberoni were baffled, in like manner, by the seisure of the papers of prince Cellamar, the Spanish ambassador at the court of France. The prince's project was, to land a body of Spanish troops in Bretagne, in order to favour the assembling of the malcontents of Poictou; to seise the person of the duke of Orleans, and oblige him to resign the regency to Philip. On the discovery of this plot, cardinal Polignac, one of the principal conspirators, was confined to his abbey; the duke and duchess of Maine were taken into custody; the prince de Dombes and the count d'Eu were ordered to retire from court; the Spanish ambassador was conducted to the frontiers; five Breton gentlemen were put to death; and the duke of Orleans found his authority thenceforth more firmly established [3].

The formerly precarious state of that authority, and the dangerous intrigues of Alberoni, had induced the regent of France, in 1716, to enter into a league with England and Holland; and the violent ambition of the court of Spain, which seemed to know no bounds, now disposed those three powers, in conjunction with the emperor, to form the famous QUADRUPLE ALLIANCE, as a dyke against its fury. After the articles which provided for the maintenance of the peace of Utrecht, the principal stipulations in the new treaty were, that the duke of Savoy, in consideration of certain places in

[3] *Mem. of the Duke of Berwick*, vol. ii.——*Mem. de Brandebourg*, tome ii.

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Italy, should exchange with the emperor the island of Sicily for that of Sardinia, of which he should take the regal title; and that don Carlos, son of the young queen of Spain, should be gratified with the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany, on the death of the present possessors without issue.

This formidable alliance made no alteration in the temper of Alberoni. The article that regarded the eventual succession of Carlos was rejected with scorn by the Spanish court, which had already taken possession of Sardinia, under pretence of assisting the Venetians against the Turks, and of a great part of the island of Sicily. The consequence of this obstinacy, and of these unprovoked hostilities, was a declaration of war against Spain, by France and England.

But, before that measure was embraced, every method had been tried, though ineffectually, to adjust matters by negotiation. Alberoni sought only to gain time, by amusing the ministers of the two crowns. He did not, however, succeed in his scheme. His Britannic majesty, even while he negotiated, sent a powerful fleet into the Mediterranean, under sir George Byng, who being invested with very ample powers, and finding every proposal to induce the Spaniards to accede to a cessation of arms treated with disdain, proceeded to execute his ultimate instructions. He accordingly engaged the

Aug. 11. N. S. Spanish fleet near the coast of Sicily, and took seven large ships, while captain Walton, who had been detached from the main fleet, captured or destroyed eight others. Yet the English could not prevent the Spanish troops, commanded by the marquis de Lede, from making themselves masters of the citadel of Messina, the town having surrendered before Byng's arrival. But by his activity in transporting German troops into Sicily, both

A. D. 1719. the town and citadel were recovered: and the Spaniards made overtures for evacuating the island.

The recovery of Sicily was followed, in 1720, by the surrender of Sardinia [4].

In the mean time the duke of Berwick conducted a French army toward the frontiers of Spain, and reduced St. Sebastian and Fontarabia; the duke of Ormond failed in his attempt to land a Spanish army in Great Britain; and the duke of Berwick having made preparations for opening the next campaign with the sieges of Roses and Pampeluna, Philip dismissed the turbulent Alberoni, and acceded to the terms prescribed by the framers of the quadruple alliance. A. D. 1720.

While the enterprising cardinal, the son of a peasant, and formerly the curate of a petty village near Parma, was ambitiously attempting to change the political state of Europe, a great and real change was brought about in the commercial world, in the finances of nations and the fortunes of individuals, by a Scottish adventurer, named John Law. Professionally a gamester, and a calculator of chances, Law had been obliged to abandon his native country, for having killed his antagonist in a duel. He visited several parts of the continent: and, on his arrival at Paris, he was particularly struck with the confusion into which the ambition of Louis XIV. had thrown the French finances. To remedy that evil appeared a task worthy of his daring genius:—and he flattered himself that he could accomplish it. The greatness of the idea recommended it to the duke of Orleans, whose bold spirit and sanguine temper induced him to adopt the wildest projects.

Law's scheme was, by speedily paying off the immense national debt, to clear the public revenue of the enormous interest that absorbed it. The introduction of paper-credit could alone effect this amazing revolution; and the necessities of the state seemed to require such an expedient. Law accordingly formed a bank, which was soon declared royal,

[4] Corbet's *Narrative.*——*Annals of the Reign of George I.*

and united with the Missisippi or West-India company, from whose commerce the greatest riches were expected, and which soon swallowed up all the other trading companies in the kingdom. It undertook the management of the trade to the coast of Africa; it also obtained the privileges of the old East-India company, founded by the celebrated Colbert, which had gone to decay, and given up its trade to the merchants of St. Malo; and it, at length, engrossed the farming of the national taxes.

The Missisippi company, in a word, seemed to be fixed on such solid foundations, and pregnant with such vast advantages, that a share in its stock rose to above twenty times its original value. The cause of this extraordinary rise deserves to be traced.

It had long been believed, on the doubtful relations of travellers, that the country in the neighbourhood of the river Missisippi contained inexhaustible treasures. Law availed himself of this credulity, and endeavoured to encourage it by mysterious reports. It was whispered as a secret, that the celebrated (but supposed to be fabulous) mines of St. Barbe had at length been discovered; and that they were much more valuable than even fame had reported them. In order to give the greater weight to this deceitful rumour, a number of miners were sent out to Louisiana, to dig, as was pretended, for the abundant treasure; with a body of soldiers sufficient to defend them against the Spaniards and Indians, as well as to protect the precious produce of their toils!

The impression which this stratagem made upon a nation naturally fond of novelty, is altogether astonishing. Every one was eager to obtain a share in the stock of the new company: the *Missisippi Scheme* became the grand object, and the ultimate aim of all pursuits[5]. Even Law himself, de-

[5] The adventurers were not satisfied with a bare association with the company, which had obtained the disposal of that fine country. The proprietors were applied to from all quarters for large tracts of land for plantations;

ceived by his own calculations, and intoxicated with the public folly, had fabricated so many notes, that the chimerical value of the funds, in 1719, exceeded eighty times the real value of the current coin of the kingdom, which was almost all in the hands of government.

This profusion of paper, in which only the debts of the state were paid off, first occasioned suspicion, and afterwards spread a general alarm. The late financiers, in conjunction with the great bankers, exhausted the royal bank, by continually drawing upon it for large sums. Every one wished to convert the notes into cash; but the disproportion of specie was immense. Public credit sunk at once; and a tyrannical edict, forbidding private persons to keep by them above five hundred livres, served only to crush it more effectually, and to inflame the injured and insulted nation against the regent. Law, who had been appointed comptroller-general of the finances, and loaded with respect, was now execrated, and obliged to fly from a country which he had beggared, without enriching himself, in order to discharge the debts of the crown. The distress of the kingdom was so great, and the public creditors so numerous, that government was under the necessity of affording them relief. Above four hundred thousand sufferers, chiefly fathers of families, presented their whole fortunes in paper; and government, after liquidating these debts, which are said to have originally amounted to a sum too

which, it was represented, would yield, in a few years, a hundred times the sum necessary to be laid out upon them. The richest and most intelligent men in the nation were the most forward in making these purchases; and such as could not afford to become purchasers, solicited the management of plantations, or even to be employed in cultivating them! During this general infatuation, all persons who offered themselves, whether natives or foreigners, were promiscuously and carelessly crowded into ships, and landed on the burning sands of the Biloxi, a district in West Florida, between Pensacola and the mouth of the Missisippi, where a French settlement had been inconsiderately formed, and where these unhappy men perished in thousands, of want and vexation; the miserable victims of a political imposture, and of their own blind avidity. Raynal, *Hist. Philos. et Politique*, liv. xvi.

incredible to be named, charged itself with the enormous debt of sixteen hundred and thirty-one millions of livres, to be paid in specie[6].

Thus terminated, in France, the famous MISSISIPPI SCHEME; so ruinous to the fortune of individuals, but ultimately beneficial to the state, which it relieved from an excessive load of debt, though it threw the finances, for a time, into the utmost disorder. Its effects, however, were not confined to that kingdom. Many foreigners had adventured in the French funds, and the contagion of stock-jobbing infected other nations. Holland received a slight shock; but its violence was more peculiarly reserved for England, where it appeared in a variety of forms, and exhausted all its fury. The SOUTH-SEA SCHEME, evidently borrowed from that of Law, first excited the avidity of the nation. But it will be necessary, before I enter upon that subject, to give some account of the nature of the *Stocks*, and the rise of the *South-Sea Company*.

Nothing, my dear son, is so much talked of in London, and so little understood, as the NATIONAL DEBT, the PUBLIC FUNDS, and the STOCKS: I shall, therefore, endeavour to give you a general idea of them. The *National Debt* is the residue of those sums which government has, in times of exigency, been obliged to raise, by way of voluntary loan, for the public service, beyond what the annual revenue of the crown could supply, and which the state has not hitherto found it convenient to pay off. The *Public Funds* consist of certain ideal aggregations, or masses of the money thus deposited in the hands of government, together with the general produce of the taxes appropriated by parliament to the payment of the interest of that money; and the surplus of these taxes, which have always been more than sufficient to answer the charge upon them, composes what is called the SINKING FUND, as it was originally intended to be applied toward the reduction, or *sinking*, of the national debt. The *Stocks* are

6 Voltaire, Raynal, and other French authors.

the whole of this public and funded debt; which being divided into a multiplicity of portions or shares, bearing a known interest, but different in the different funds, may be readily transferred from one person to another, and converted into cash for the purposes of business or pleasure, and which rise or fall in value according to the plenty or scarcity of money in the nation, or the opinion the proprietors have of the security of public credit.

Such is the present state of the stocks; which are subject to little fluctuation, except in times of national danger or calamity. For, as the public creditors have long given up all expectation of ever receiving their capital from government, the stocks are not much affected by great national prosperity, unless it be attended with a sudden or extraordinary influx of money. A strong probability, amounting to a speculative certainty, that the interest of the national debt will continue to be regularly paid, without any farther reduction, must raise the stocks nearly as high as they can go; and this is the common effect of peace and tranquillity. Formerly, however, the case was otherwise. The loans were chiefly made by corporations, or great companies of merchants; who, beside the stipulated interest, were indulged with certain commercial advantages. To one of those companies the parliament granted, in 1711, the monopoly of a projected trade to the Spanish settlements on the South Sea, an entire freedom to visit which, it was supposed, England would obtain, either from the house of Austria or that of Bourbon, in consequence of the extraordinary success of the war.

At the peace of Utrecht, no such freedom was obtained. But the contract for negroes, already mentioned, and the privilege of sending annually to the fair of Porto Bello a ship of the burthen of five hundred tons, laden with European commodities, were vested exclusively in the SOUTH-SEA COMPANY. By virtue of this contract, British factories were established at Carthagena, Panama, Vera Cruz, Buenos Ayres, and other Spanish settlements: and the company was

farther permitted to freight, in the ports of the South Sea, vessels of four hundred tons, for the conveyance of its negroes to all the towns on the coasts of Mexico and Peru; to equip them as it pleased; to nominate the commanders of them, and to bring back the produce of its sales in gold or silver, without being subject to any duty of import or export [7].

Nor was this all. The agents of the British South-Sea company, taking advantage of the permission for the annual voyage to Porto Bello, poured their commodities on the Spanish colonies, without limitation or reserve. Instead of the stipulated vessel of five hundred tons, they usually employed one of a thousand tons: she was accompanied by three or four smaller vessels, which supplied her wants, and, mooring in some neighbouring creek, furnished her clandestinely with fresh bales of goods, in order to replace such as had been sold [8].

By these various advantages the profits of the company became very great; and the public supposed them to be yet greater than they really were. Encouraged by such favourable circumstances, and by the general spirit of avaricious enterprise, sir John Blount, one of the directors, who had been bred a scrivener, was tempted to project, in 1719, the infamous SOUTH-SEA SCHEME. Under pretence of enabling government to pay off the national debt, by lowering the interest, and reducing all the funds into one, he proposed that the South-Sea company should become the sole public creditor.

A scheme so plausible, and seemingly so advantageous to the state, was readily adopted by the ministry, and soon received the sanction of the parliament. The purport of the bill now enacted was, that the South-Sea company should be authorised to buy up, from the several proprietors, all the

7 Anderson's *Hist. of Commerce*, vol. ii.

8 Id. ibid. See also Robertson's *Hist. of America*, book viii.

funded debts of the crown, which then bore an interest of five *per cent.* and that, after the expiration of six years, the interest should be reduced to four *per cent.* and the capital be redeemable by parliament. But, as the directors could not be supposed to possess money sufficient for so great an undertaking, they were empowered to raise it by different means; and particularly by opening books of subscription, and granting annuities to such public creditors as should think proper to *exchange* the *security* of the *crown* for that of the *South-Sea Company*, with the *emoluments* which might result from their *commerce* [9].

While this affair was in agitation, the company's stock rose from one hundred and thirty, or thirty pounds on the hundred above its primary value, to near four hundred pounds, or four times the price paid by the first subscribers; and in order to raise it still higher, sir John Blount circulated a report, on the completion of the bill, that Gibraltar and Minorca would be exchanged for some places in Peru, by the cession of which the British trade to the South-Sea would be much enlarged. In consequence of this rumour, which operated like contagion, by exciting hopes of prodigious dividends, the subscription-books were no sooner opened than persons of all ranks and both sexes crowded to the South-Sea house, eager to become proprietors of the stock. The first purchases were, in a few weeks, sold for double the money which had been paid for them; and the delusion, or rather the infatuation, was carried so far, that the stock at last procured ten times its original price. New projectors were frequently starting up, to profit by the avidity and credulity

9 These emoluments, as we have already seen, were very great: yet so intelligent a writer as Dr. Smollett has said, that "in the scheme of Law "there was *something substantial*: an *exclusive trade* to *Louisiana* promised some "*advantage*; but the South-Sea scheme promised *no commercial advantage* of "*any consequence*." (*Hist. of Eng.* vol. x.) So liable are men even of great talents to be the dupes of ignorance or prejudice!

of individuals; and the Welsh copper company, the York-building company, and many others, were formed.

No interested project was so absurd as not to meet with encouragement, during the public delirium; but the South-Sea scheme continued to be the chief object of attraction. At length, however, to use the phrase of the times, the *bubble* began to *burst*. It was discovered, that such as were thought to be in the secret had disposed of all their stock, while the tide was at its height. An universal alarm was spread. Every one wished to sell, and none would buy, except at a very reduced price. The stock fell as rapidly as it had risen, and to the lowest ebb; so that, in a little time, nothing was to be seen of this bewitching scheme but the direful effects of its violence—the wreck of private fortunes, and the bankruptcy of merchants and trading companies!—nor any thing to be heard but the ravings of disappointed ambition, the execrations of beggared avarice, the pathetic wailings of innocent credulity, the grief of unexpected poverty, or the frantic howlings of despair!—Only the seasonable interposition and steady wisdom of parliament could have prevented a general bankruptcy.

A committee of the house of commons was chosen by ballot, to examine all the books, papers, and proceedings relative to the execution of the South-Sea act; and this committee discovered, that, before any subscription could be made, a fictitious stock of five hundred and seventy-four thousand pounds had been disposed of by the directors, to facilitate the passing of the bill. Mr. Aislabie, chancellor of the exchequer, who had shared largely in the stock, was expelled from the house of commons, and committed to the Tower, for having promoted the destructive execution of "the South-Sea scheme, with a "view to his own exorbitant profit; and having combined "with the directors in their pernicious practices, to the ruin "of public credit." Secretary Craggs and his father, also

December.

A. D. 1721.

great delinquents, died before they underwent the censure of the house; but the commons resolved, nevertheless, that Mr. Craggs, senior, was "a notorious accomplice with Robert "Knight, treasurer to the South-Sea company, and some of "the directors, in carrying on their scandalous practices: "and, therefore, that all the estate of which he was possessed "at the time of his death, should be applied toward the relief "of unhappy sufferers by the South-Sea scheme[10]". The estates of the directors were also seised, and ordered to be applied to the same purpose, with the exception of a certain allowance for each director, according to his conduct and circumstances.

The commons having thus punished the chief promoters of this iniquitous scheme, by stripping them of their ill-gotten wealth, proceeded to repair, as far as possible, the mischief it had occasioned. They soon prepared a bill for that purpose. On the enquiries relative to the framing of this bill, it appeared, that the whole capital stock of the South-Sea company, at the end of the year 1720, amounted to thirty-seven millions eight hundred thousand pounds; that the stock allotted to all the proprietors did not exceed twenty-four millions five hundred thousand pounds; and that the remaining capital belonged to the company in its corporate capacity, being the profit arising from the execution of the fraudulent stock-jobbing scheme. Out of this, it was ordained, that seven millions should be paid to the public sufferers. It was also enacted, that several additions should be made to the stock of the proprietors, out of that which the company possessed in its own right; and that, after such distributions, the remaining capital stock should be divided among the proprietors. By these wise and equitable regulations, public credit was restored, and the ferment of the nation gradually subsided.

The discontents and disorders occasioned by the South-

10 Journals of the Commons, 1721.

Sea scheme encouraged the English Jacobites to think of making a new attempt to change the line of succession. But the same want of concert, of secrecy, and success, attended this, as every other plan for the restoration of the unfortunate family of Stuart. George, who had spies in every popish court, and who had, by alliances, made almost every European potentate his friend, was informed, by the regent of France, of the conspiracy planned against his

A. D. 1722. government. In consequence of this intimation, Christopher Layer, a young gentleman of the Middle-Temple, was taken into custody, condemned, and punished with death, for having enlisted men for the service of the Pretender. The earl of Orrery, Dr. Atterbury bishop of Rochester, lord North and Grey, and many suspected persons of less note, were committed to prison. The bishop

A. D. 1723. was degraded, deprived of his benefice, and banished for life by act of parliament. As he was a man of distinguished talents, and intimately connected with the heads of the Tory party, his cause was warmly pleaded in the house of peers. Lord Bathurst, turning towards the bench of bishops, who had discovered peculiar animosity against the prisoner, said he could hardly account for the inveterate malice and rancour with which some men pursued the learned and ingenious prelate, unless they were infatuated with the superstition of certain savages, who fondly believe that they inherit, not only the spoils, but the abilities, of any great man whom they destroy. When the bishop of Rochester arrived at Calais, he met lord Bolingbroke on his return from exile, and had the spirit to observe, smiling, that they were *exchanged*[11]!

Soon after this conspiracy was defeated, died Philip duke

Dec. 2. N. S. of Orleans, regent of France, one of the most elegant, accomplished, and dissipated men of his time. As a prince, he possessed great talents for government, which he did not fail to exert during his administra-

[11] *Historical Register.*——Tindal.

tion. Notwithstanding his precarious situation, he governed France with more absolute authority than any minister since cardinal Richelieu, and took many important steps for the benefit of the kingdom; but his own libertine example, and the necessity of making the oppressed people forget their miseries in a perpetual round of amusements, introduced a general corruption of manners, which spread itself even to foreign nations. He was succeeded in the administration (not in the regency, as the king was of age) by the duke of Bourbon. This minister was supplanted, about three years afterward, by cardinal Fleury, a man of a mild and pacific disposition, who had been preceptor to Louis XV. and who, at the advanced age of seventy-three, took upon himself the cares of government.

Fortunately for the happiness of mankind, sir Robert Walpole, the prime minister of Great Britain, possessed a disposition no less pacific than that of Fleury. In consequence of this coinciding mildness of temper, the repose of Europe, for almost twenty years, was not very seriously interrupted. Meanwhile several treaties were negotiated between its different kingdoms and states, for securing more effectually, as was pretended, the objects of the quadruple alliance, and the balance of power. One of these treaties, concluded privately at Vienna, between the emperor and the Spanish monarch, excited the jealousy of George, who was under apprehensions for the safety of his German dominions, as well as of some secret article in favour of the Pretender, many of whose adherents were then entertained at the court of Madrid. It also gave umbrage to the French and Dutch, as it granted to the subjects of the house of Austria greater advantages, in their trade with Spain, than those enjoyed by any other nation[12]:

A. D. 1725.

[12] Count Konigseck, the Imperial ambassador at the court of Madrid, had procured these advantageous conditions, by flattering the queen of Spain with a prospect of a match between her son Carlos and the archduchess Ma-

and it guarantied a new India company, formed at Ostend, which France, England, and Holland, were strongly desirous of suppressing.

To counteract the treaty of Vienna, another was concluded at Hanover, between the three offended powers, and the kings of Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden. Overawed by this formidable confederacy, the emperor and the king of Spain remained quiet. The king of Great Britain, however, fitted out three squadrons, one of which he sent to the West Indies, under admiral Hosier, who had orders to block up the Spanish galleons in the harbour of Porto Bello, and to seize them if they attempted to come out. In cruising off that unhealthy coast, where he was restrained from obeying the dictates of his courage, a multitude of his officers and men were swept away by the diseases of the climate; his ships were greatly injured by the worms; and he himself is supposed to have died of a broken heart.

A.D. 1726.

A.D. 1727.

The Spaniards, in resentment of this insult, laid siege to Gibraltar, but without success; and a reconciliation was soon after brought about, through the mediation of France. It was agreed, that the charter of the obnoxious India company should be suspended for seven years; that the stipulations in the quadruple alliance, particularly those relative to the succession of Don Carlos to the three duchies, should be fulfilled; and that all differences should be adjusted by a congress. This congress, which was holden at Soissons, produced the treaty of Seville, which was strongly promoted by the conciliatory spirit of sir Robert Walpole, though it did not highly please the English in general, who lamented that it was not sufficiently agreeable to the emperor.

June 11.

During these negotiations died George I. a prudent and virtuous prince, whose attachment to his

ria Theresa, heiress to the extensive dominions of the house of Austria. *Mem. de Brandebourg*, tome ii.

German dominions, which has been much magnified, was by the Tories made subservient to the purpose of rendering him odious to the English nation. He was succeeded by his son, George II. whose accession made no alteration in the system of British politics. The administration was wisely continued in the hands of the Whigs, the only true friends to the Protestant succession, or to the principles of the Revolution: and the same Tory faction, which had attempted to thwart the measures, and overturn the throne, of the first George, continued its violent opposition in parliament, during the earlier part of the reign of George II. The heads of this faction (Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Shippen, Mr. Hungerford, and others), being men of great abilities, were soon joined by some disgusted courtiers, of equal, if not superior, talents; who hoped, by such coalition, to humble their successful rivals, and procure the highest employments of the state. Mr. Pulteney, the finest speaker of the house of commons, and lately a member of administration, already made one of their number. Lord Carteret and the earl of Chesterfield, the most distinguished orators in the house of peers, afterward joined the phalanx.

This powerful body, by continually opposing the measures of government, and passionately railing against continental connexions, soon acquired great popularity, and at last became formidable to the throne. The patriotic, or Country Party, as the members in opposition affected to call themselves, were always predicting beggary and ruin in the midst of profound peace and great national prosperity; and a small standing army, which it was thought prudent to keep up, was represented as an engine of despotism. The liberties of the people were believed by many to be in danger. But those liberties, or at least the freedom of the constitution, suffered more from a pernicious system of domestic policy, which that violent opposition at first rendered necessary, than from the dreaded military establishment.

When the wheels of government are clogged, and the ma-

chine rendered almost stationary, by the arts of an ambitious faction, the whole influence of the crown must be employed to accelerate their motion. The force of opposition must be broken: its ablest members must be drawn over to the side of royalty, by the emoluments of office or the splendour of titles; by the highest honours and employments of the state. If this cannot be effected, if nothing less will content their pride than an entirely new arrangement of the servants of the crown, a measure always disagreeable to a sovereign, and often dangerous, as it may be attended with the loss of his throne;—if the heads of opposition cannot be overawed, or induced to change sides, without a total change of administration, the king must either resign his minister, or that minister must secure a majority in the national assembly by *other means* [13]. No minister ever understood these means better than Sir Robert Walpole. Possessed of great abilities, and utterly destitute of principle, he made no scruple of employing the money voted by parliament, in corrupting its members. Having discovered that almost every man had his price, he bought many; and, to gain more, he let loose the wealth of the treasury at elections [14]. The fountain of liberty was poisoned in its source.

This, my dear Philip, is an evil interwoven with the very frame of our mixed government, and which renders it, in some respects, inferior to a mere monarchy, regulated by laws, where corruption can never become a necessary engine of state. To say, that it is absolutely necessary in our government, would perhaps be going too far; but experience

[13] Some men of patriotic principles have fondly imagined, that a good minister must always be able to command such a majority, merely by the rectitude of his measures; but experience has evinced, that, in factious times, all the weight of government is often necessary to carry even the best measures.

[14] "To destroy British liberty," says lord Bolingbroke, "with an army of "Britons, is not a measure so sure of success as some people may believe. "To corrupt the parliament is a slower, but a more effectual, method." *Dissert. on Parties*, Letter X.

proves, that it has generally been thought so, since the Revolution, when the powers of the crown were abridged. The opportunity which able and ambitious men have, by the freedom of debate in parliament, and which they have seldom failed to exercise, of obstructing our public measures, renders the *influence* of the crown in some degree necessary: and that is but a more refined species of *corruption*, or a milder name for the same thing.

Our patriotic ancestors, who so gloriously struggled for the abolition of the more dangerous parts of the prerogative, certainly did not foresee the weight of this enslaving influence, which the entire management of an immense public revenue has thrown into the scale of government, by giving rise to such a multitude of officers, created by, and removable at, the royal pleasure; and by the frequent opportunities of conferring particular obligations, by preference in loans, lottery-tickets, contracts, and other pecuniary transactions; an influence too great for human virtue to withstand, and which, it may be affirmed, has left us little more than the shadow of a free constitution [15]. The revolution was, in various respects, a precipitate measure. It guarded only against the direct encroachments of the crown. The subsequent provisions were few: and the Whigs, formerly so jealous of liberty, were afterward so fully employed, one while

[15] "Nothing," as lord Bolingbroke justly remarks, "can destroy the constitution of Britain, but the people of Britain; and whenever the people of Britain become so degenerate and base, as to be induced by corruption (for they are no longer in danger of being awed by prerogative) to choose persons to represent them in parliament, whom they have found by experience to be under an influence arising from private interest, dependents upon a court, and the creatures of a minister; or others, who are unknown to the people that elect them, and bring no recommendation but that which they carry in their purses; then will that trite proverbial speech be verified in our case, that *the corruptions of the best things are the worst*: for then will that very change in the state of property and power, which improved our constitution so much, contribute to the destruction of it." *Dissert. on Parties*, Let. xvii.

in combating their political enemies, in order to preserve the parliamentary settlement of the crown, and at another in opposing the violent faction occasioned by the Hanoverian succession, which it had been their great object to bring about, that they had no leisure to attend to the new bias of the constitution. In their anxiety for the security of that succession, stimulated by the lust of power, they shamefully neglected the independence of parliament, as well as the freedom of elections, in which it has its origin, till the malady was too inveterate to admit of a speedy cure. The Septennial Bill was a cruel stab to liberty.

Let us not, however, despair. Some acts of a later period, for regulating elections, and for excluding from the house of commons contractors and money-jobbers, will contribute to restore, if not to perfect, the British constitution. But the friends of monarchy will perhaps question, whether an independent parliament would be a *public good* in this *licentious* kingdom? And that question is not without its difficulties. Yet we know, that *corruption* is a *public evil*; that it is the parent of *licentiousness*, and of every enslaving vice. And as the reigning family is now fully established on the throne, without a competitor, government happily can have no occasion for *undue* influence to promote any salutary measure. I shall, therefore, conclude my observations on this subject with the memorable words of lord Bolingbroke:— "The *integrity of parliament* is a kind of PALLADIUM, a "tutelary goddess, who protects our state[16]"—and whenever she is finally removed, we must bid adieu to all the blessings of a free people. The forms of our constitution, and the names of its different branches, may remain, but we shall not be, on that account, the less slaves.

In consequence of the treaty of Seville, which was reluctantly confirmed by the emperor, who agreed to a new treaty

16 *Dissert. on Parties,* Let. x.

at Vienna, the Spanish troops, in the name of Don Carlos, took quiet possession of the duchies of Parma and Placentia, the succession becoming vacant, and the former prince withdrawing his troops. By the treaty of Vienna, the emperor also agreed, that the Ostend company should be totally dissolved, on condition that the contracting powers in the treaty of Seville should guaranty the Pragmatic Sanction, or that solemn law by which he had secured to his female heirs the succession to the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, in case of his dying without male issue. The proposal was acceded to; and the peace of Europe continued undisturbed, till the death of Augustus king of Poland[17].

A. D. 1731.

On this event, Stanislaus Leczinski, whom Charles XII. had invested with the sovereignty of Poland, and whom Peter the Great had dethroned, was a second time chosen king, being recommended by the king of France, to whom his daughter was married. But the emperor, assisted by the Russians, obliged the Poles to proceed to a new election. The elector of Saxony (son of the late king of Poland), who had married the emperor's niece, was

A. D. 1733.

17 That prince, when surprised by death, was occupied with a design of rendering the crown of Poland hereditary in his family. With this view he had planned a division of the Polish dominions, hoping thereby to quiet the jealousy of his neighbours. The project, however, he knew to be impracticable, without the concurrence of the king of Prussia. He, therefore, desired Frederic II. to send him the mareschal de Grumkou, that he might open his mind to him. Each being anxious to discover the sentiments of his companion, they promoted the intoxication of each other; and this bacchanalian interview was followed by the death of the king, and a fit of sickness in Grumkou, from which he never recovered. (*Mem. de Brandebourg*, tome ii.) Augustus was endowed with extraordinary bodily strength, a sound understanding, a social disposition, and many princely accomplishments. It was this Augustus, who, in a fit of gallantry, twisted a horse-shoe in the presence of a fine woman, to give her some idea of his personal powers; and, at the same time, presented to her a purse of gold, to make her sensible of his generosity. Some gross minds may think that love never spoke a more persuasive language; but such behaviour certainly had no connexion with sentiment.

raised to the throne; and Stanislaus was again constrained to relinquish his crown.

Though the distance of his situation, and the pacific disposition of his minister, prevented the king of France from yielding effectual support to his father-in-law, a sense of his own dignity determined him to take revenge upon Charles VI. for the insult he had suffered in the person of that unfortunate prince. He accordingly entered into an alliance with the kings of Spain and Sardinia, who also thought themselves aggrieved; and a war began in Italy and on the frontiers of Germany. The king of Great-Britain, who anxiously observed the politics of the continent, wished to engage in this war, as a supporter of the interests of the emperor; but his minister warmly and effectually remonstrated against such interference, and also dissuaded George from concluding an alliance with the Danish and Swedish sovereigns[18]. The duke of Berwick passed the Rhine, at the head of the French army, and reduced Fort Kehl. He afterwards invested Philipsburg, in the face of the Imperial forces, while the count de Belleisle made himself master of Traerbach. The duke was killed by a cannon-ball, in visiting the trenches[19]; yet Philipsburg was taken.

A.D. 1734.

18 Coxe's *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole.*

19 The mareschal of Berwick is justly reputed one of the greatest of modern commanders. No general ever had the *coup d'œil* quicker or more accurate; either to discover, in battle, the blunders of an enemy, and make those decisive movements that carry victory with them; or, in a campaign, to observe and take advantage of positions, on which the success of the whole depends. His character in private life, though not less worthy of admiration, is less known. "It was impossible," says Montesquieu, "to behold him, and not "to be in love with virtue, so evident were tranquillity and happiness in his "soul. No man ever knew better how to avoid excesses; or, if I may so "express myself, to keep clear of the snares of virtue. He had a great fund "of religion, and was fond of the clergy, but could not bear to be governed by "them. No man ever followed more strictly those precepts of the Gospel "which are most troublesome to men of the world; no man, in a word, ever "practised religion so much, and talked of it so little. He never spoke ill of "any one, nor bestowed any praise upon those whom he did not think deserv-

The marquis d'Asfeld, who succeeded to the command as the oldest lieutenant-general, continued the operations of the siege in the sight of prince Eugene; and in spite of the efforts of that experienced general, and the overflowings of the Rhine, the place was forced to surrender.

The French and their allies were no less successful in Italy. The count de Montemar having gained a complete victory over the Imperialists at Bitonto in the province of Bari, the Spaniards afterward carried every thing before them; and, in two campaigns, became masters of Naples and Sicily. Meanwhile the forces of France and Piedmont, under the experienced Villars and the king of Sardinia, took Milan and other important places. The mareschal de Coigny, who succeeded Villars, defeated the Imperialists under the walls of Parma, after an obstinate battle, in which count de Merci, the Austrian general, was killed. The Imperialists were again worsted at Guastalla, where the prince of Wirtemberg was slain. In these two engagements the emperor lost above eight thousand men; and the victors are said to have lost an equal number.

June 29.

Sept. 19.

Discouraged by these defeats, the court of Vienna signified a desire of peace; and, as this was the sincere and constant wish of cardinal Fleury, preliminaries were signed in the following year. It was stipulated, that Stanislaus should renounce his pretensions to the throne of Poland, in consideration of the cession of the duchy of Lorrain, which he should enjoy during life, and which, after his death, should be re-united to the crown of France; that the duke of Lorrain should have Tuscany, in exchange for his hereditary dominions, and that Louis should ensure to him an annual revenue of three millions five hundred thousand livres, till the death of the grand-duke John Gaston, the last

A. D. 1735.

" ing of it. In the works of Plutarch I have seen, at a distance, what great men " were; in him I behold, at a nearer view, what they are." *Sketch of an Historical Panegyric.*

prince of the house of Medicis; that the emperor should acknowledge Don Carlos as king of the Two Sicilies, and accept the duchies of Parma and Placentia, as an indemnification for these two kingdoms; and that he should cede to the king of Sardinia (who advanced pretensions to the whole duchy of Milan) the Novarese and the Tortonese provinces. In consideration of these cessions, the king of France agreed to restore all his conquests in Germany, and to guaranty the Pragmatic Sanction[20].

A. D. 1736. Before these stipulations were improved into a definitive treaty, a new war broke out on the confines of Europe and Asia, in which the emperor found himself involved. Provoked at the incursions of the Tartars, as well as at the neglect of all remonstrances on that subject, the empress of Russia[21] resolved to do herself justice. She accordingly ordered Lasci, one of her generals, to attack Azoph, which he reduced; while the count de Munich, with another army, forced the lines of Prekop, and ravaged the Crimea with fire and sword. A. D. 1737. In the next campaign Munich invested Oczakoff, which was defended by three thousand Janisaries and seven thousand Bosniacs. A bomb having set fire to the powder magazine, it immediately blew up, and communicated its contents to many of the houses. The Russian general seized this opportunity of storming the town; and the Turks, unable to recover from their consternation, or to fight on narrow ramparts contiguous to buildings that were in flames, tamely suffered themselves to be cut to pieces[22].

The rapid successes of the Russians awakened the ambition of the court of Vienna, which was bound, by treaty, to assist that of Petersburg against the Porte. The emperor

[20] Voltaire.——Tindal.——Smollet.

[21] This was Anne (niece to Peter the Great), who had been raised to the throne in 1730, after the short reign of the much-lamented youth Peter II. the grandson of the illustrious czar.

[22] *Mem. de Brandebourg*, tome ii.

was encouraged to believe, that, if he should attack the Turks on the side of Hungary, while the Russians continued to press them near the Black Sea, the Ottoman empire might be subverted. Prophecies were even propagated, that the period fatal to the Crescent had at last arrived. But these prophecies and the emperor's ambitious hopes proved illusory. The Turks turned their principal force toward Hungary. The Imperial generals were unsuccessful in the field; several important places were lost; Belgrade was besieged; and Charles, wishing to put an end to a war from which he reaped nothing but disgrace, had recourse to the mediation of France. M. de Villeneuve, the French ambassador at Constantinople, accordingly repaired to the Turkish camp; and the Russian empress, though recently victorious at Choczim, afraid of being deserted by her ally, and left to support alone the whole weight of the war, also had recourse to negotiation. A. D. 1739.

In consequence of this pacific disposition in the Christian allies, the Turks, so lately devoted to destruction, obtained an advantageous peace. The emperor ceded to the grand signor Belgrade and the whole province of Servia, with the Austrian Walachia; and the contracting powers agreed, that the Danube and the Save should, in future, be the boundaries of the two empires. Azoph was left to the czarina, on condition that its fortifications should be demolished; and the ancient limits between the Russian and Turkish empires were re-established.

Soon after this peace was signed, the emperor died; and the disputed succession to his hereditary dominions kindled anew the flames of war in Europe. But before we enter upon that important subject, I must give you, my dear son, a short account of the maritime war which had already commenced between Spain and Great Britain; and, in order to make the grounds of the rupture distinctly understood, it will be necessary to continue our view of the progress of navigation, commerce, and colonisation. Oct. 20, 1740.

LETTER XXVII.

Of the Progress of Navigation, Commerce, and Colonisation, from the Year 1660, to the Year 1739, when Spain and Great Britain engaged in a Maritime War, occasioned by certain Commercial Disputes—an Account of the Principal Events of that War—the Reduction of Porto-Bello, the Siege of Carthagena, and the Expedition of Commodore Anson to the South Sea.

WE have seen, toward the middle of the seventeenth century, the English and Dutch in possession of almost the whole trade of the universe. But the Dutch commerce received a severe wound from the English Navigation-Act, passed by the commonwealth parliament, in 1651; and the two wars between England and Holland, in the reign of Charles II., reduced still lower the trade of the United Provinces. Their trade to the East-Indies, however, continued to flourish, while that of England remained in a languishing condition till after the Revolution. But this disadvantage on the part of England was amply compensated by the population, culture, and extension of her colonies in North America and the West Indies, which began to consume a vast quantity of European goods; and by a great and lucrative trade to Spain, Portugal, and Turkey [1]. During no former or subsequent period, indeed, did England make such a rapid progress in commerce and riches, as during that inglorious one, which followed the Restoration, and terminated with the expulsion of the house of Stuart [2]; though she

[1] England sent annually to the Levant above twenty thousand pieces of woollen cloth.

[2] Davenant affirms, that the shipping of England was more than doubled during those twenty-eight years. (*Discourse on the Public Revenues*, part ii.) And we learn from sir Josiah Child, that, in 1688, there were on the Exchange more men worth *ten* thousand pounds, than there were, in 1650, worth *one* thousand. *Brief Observations*, &c.

found at that time a formidable rival in France, and a rival whose encroachments were not sufficiently repressed by her pusillanimous and pensioned monarchs.

By the great Colbert, who introduced order into the French finances in the early part of the reign of Louis XIV. who encouraged the arts, promoted manufactures, and may be said to have created the French navy, an East-India company was erected in 1664. This company, which founded its principal settlement at Pondicherry, on the coast of Coromandel, never attained any high degree of prosperity, notwithstanding the countenance shewn to it by government. At last, in consequence of Law's Missisippi scheme, it was united with the West-India company, which had been formed in the same year with the Oriental society, and was also in a languishing condition. A separation afterward took place. The West-India company was judiciously abolished, as a pernicious monopoly [3]; and the French trade to the East Indies became, for a time, of some importance, while that to the West Indies flourished greatly when it became free.

But France is chiefly indebted for her wealth and commerce to the genius and industry of her numerous inhabitants, and to the produce of an extensive, and naturally fertile, territory. Her wine, her brandy, her raisins, her olives, have been long in request; and by her ingenious manufactures, established or encouraged by Colbert, her gold and silver stuffs, her tapestry, her carpets, her silks, velvets, laces, linen, and toys, she laid all Europe, and indeed the greater part of the world, under contribution for half a century. Colbert extended his attention also to the manufacture of

[3] Exclusive companies may sometimes be useful to nourish an infant trade, where the market is under the dominion of foreign and barbarous princes; but where the trade is between different parts of the dominions of the same prince, under the protection of his laws, and is carried on by his own subjects with goods wrought in his own kingdom, such companies are not only absurd in their nature, but are also injurious to commercial prosperity.

wool; and the French, by fabricating lighter cloths, by employing more taste and fancy in the colours, and by the superior convenience of the ports of Toulon and Marseilles, soon acquired the chief command of the trade of Turkey, formerly so beneficial to England. The same, and other circumstances, procured them a great share in the trade of Spain and Portugal [4].

The prosperity of the French manufactures, however, received a temporary check, from the revocation of the edict of Nantes, in 1685. The persecuted Protestants, to the number of almost a million, who had been chiefly employed in these manufactures, took refuge in England, Holland, and other countries, where they could enjoy the free exercise of their religion; carrying with them their arts and ingenuity, and even the fruits of their industry, to a very great amount, in gold and silver. They were much caressed in England, where they improved or introduced the manufacture of hats, of silk, and of linen. The importation of those articles from France was soon prohibited, as inconsistent with national interest; the culture of flax was encouraged; raw silk was imported from Italy and China; beaver skins were procured from Hudson's Bay, where settlements had been established, and where all sorts of furs were found in the greatest plenty, and of the most excellent quality. Watch-work was executed, in England, with distinguished elegance and exactness, as were also other kinds of machinery, cutlery, and jewellery: the cotton manufacture, now so highly perfected, was introduced; and toys of every species were at length finished with so much taste and facility as to become an article of exportation, even to the European continent, and privately to France itself, the birth-place of fashion, and the nursery of splendid *bagatelles*.

In the mean time, the English and French colonies, in North America, enlarged their boundaries, and increased in

[4] Anderson's *Hist. of Commerce*, vol. ii.

wealth and population. The French colony of Canada, or New France, was augmented by the settlement of Louisiana; and a line of communication was established, before the middle of the eighteenth century, from the mouth of the river St. Laurence to that of the Missisippi. The English colonies, more populous and cultivated, extended along the sea-coast, from the Bay of Fundy to the river Alatamaha, on the frontiers of Florida. New England furnished masts and yards for the royal navy, as well as timber for other uses; New York and New Jersey, formerly known by the name of Nova Belgia, conquered from the Dutch in 1664, and Pennsylvania, settled in 1681, produced abundant crops of corn, and a variety of other articles for the European markets, as well as for the supply of the English islands in the West Indies; the tobacco of Virginia and Maryland was a staple commodity, in high request, and a great source of revenue; and the two Carolinas, by the culture of rice and indigo, and the manufacture of tar, pitch, and turpentine, so necessary to a naval and commercial people, soon became of vast importance.

But the most beneficial trade of both nations arose from their colonies in the West Indies. The rich produce of those islands, being carried in the ships of the mother-countries, afforded employment to a great number of seamen; and as the inhabitants, who did not even make their own wearing apparel, or the common implements of husbandry, were supplied with clothing of all kinds, household furniture, tools, toys, and even the luxuries of the table, from Europe, the intercourse was active, and productive of mutual prosperity and happiness. The islands in the American Archipelago, in a word, were the prime marts for French and English manufactures, and furnished the nations to which they belonged, in their sugar, rum, cotton, coffee, cocoa, and other articles, with a more valuable exchange than that of gold.

Nor are those islands wholly destitute of the precious me-

tals, which, however, are not found there in abundance. An inquiry into this subject will lead us to many curious particulars in the history of the West Indies, and prove, at the same time, a necessary introduction to the maritime war between England and Spain, which broke out in 1739.

After the failure of the mines of Hispaniola, which were never very rich, and the conquest of the two extensive empires of Mexico and Peru, where the precious metals were found in the greatest profusion, that valuable island was entirely neglected by the Spaniards. The greater part of its once flourishing cities were deserted by their inhabitants, and the few planters that remained sunk into the most enervating indolence. It possessed, however, a very considerable portion of the necessaries, and not a few of the luxuries, of life. All the European animals had multiplied exceedingly, but especially the horned cattle, which had become in a manner wild, and wandered about in large droves, without any regular owner. Allured by these conveniences, many French and English adventurers, since known by the name of Buccaneers or Freebooters, had taken possession of the small island of Tortuga, as early as the year 1632, and found little difficulty, under such favourable circumstances, of establishing themselves on the northern coast of Hispaniola. They at first subsisted chiefly by the hunting of wild cattle. Part of the beef they ate fresh, part they dried, and the hides they sold to the masters of such vessels as came upon the coast; who furnished them, in return, with clothes, liquors, fire-arms, powder, and shot [5]. But the wild cattle at

[5] The dress of the Buccaneers consisted of a shirt dipped in the blood of the animals they had slain; a pair of trowsers, dirtier than the shirt; a leathern girdle, from which hung a short sabre, and some Dutch knives; a hat without any rim, except a flap before, in order to enable them to pull it off; shoes made of raw hides, but no stockings. These barbarous men, the outcasts of civil society, were denominated *Buccaneers*, because they dried with smoke, conformably to the custom of the savages, part of the flesh of the cattle they had killed, in places denominated *buccans* in the language of the natives. *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, tome xv.

length becoming scarce, the Buccaneers were under the necessity of turning their industry to other objects. Such as were more sober-minded than the rest applied themselves to the cultivation of the ground, which abundantly requited their toil; while those of a bold and restless disposition associated themselves with pirates and outlaws of all nations, and formed the most terrible band of ravagers that ever infested the ocean. To these ravagers, however, rendered famous by their courage and their crimes, France and England were indebted, in some measure, for the prosperity of their settlements in the West Indies.

Nothing could appear less formidable than the first armaments of the piratical Buccaneers, who took the name of *Brothers of the Coast.* Having formed themselves, like the hunters of wild cattle, into small societies, they made their excursions in open boats, which generally contained between twenty and thirty men, exposed to all the intemperature of the climate; to the burning heat of the day, and the chilling damps of the night. The natural inconveniences, connected with this mode of life, were augmented by those arising from their licentious disposition.

A love of freedom, which, duly regulated, cannot be too much cherished, rendered the Buccaneers averse to all those restraints which civilised men usually impose on each other for their common happiness; and as the authority which they had conferred on their captain was chiefly confined to giving orders in battle, they lived in the greatest disorder. Like savages, having no apprehension of want, nor taking any care to guard against famine by prudent œconomy, they were frequently exposed to the extremities of hunger and thirst. But deriving, even from their distresses, a courage superior to every danger, the sight of a sail transported them to a degree of phrensy. They seldom deliberated on the mode of attack; but their custom was to board the ships as soon as possible. The smallness of their own vessels, and their dexterity in managing them, preserved them from

the fire of the enemy. They presented only to the broadside of a ship their slender prows, filled with expert marksmen, who fired at the enemy's port-holes with such exactness, as to confound the most experienced gunners. And when they could fix their grappling tackle, the largest trading vessels were generally obliged to strike [6].

Although the Buccaneers, when under the pressure of necessity, attacked the ships of every nation, those belonging to the subjects of Spain were more especially marked out as the objects of their piracy. They thought that the cruelties which the Spaniards had exercised on the natives of the New World, were a sufficient apology for any violence that could be committed against them. Accommodating their conscience to this belief, which, perhaps, unknown to themselves, was rather dictated by the richness of the Spanish vessels than by any real sense of religion or equity, they never embarked in an expedition without publicly praying to Heaven for its success; nor did they ever return loaded with booty, without solemnly returning thanks to God for their good fortune [7].

This booty was originally carried to the island of Tortuga, the common rendezvous of the Buccaneers, and then their only place of safety. But afterward the French went to

6 *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, ubi sup. *Hist. of the Buccaneers*, part i. chap. vi.

7 Id. ibid. This is a curious picture of the inconsistency of human nature, and a striking proof how little connexion there frequently is between religion and morality! a truth which is farther illustrated by a remarkable anecdote. "One of the chief causes of our disagreement," says an enlightened Freebooter, speaking of the quarrels between the French and English Buccaneers, in their expeditions to the South Sea, "was the *impiety* of the "English; for they made no scruple, when they got into a church, to *cut down* "the *arms* of a *crucifix* with their *sabres*, or to shoot them down with their fusils "and pistols, *bruising* and *maiming* the *images* of the *saints* in the same manner!" (*Voy. des Flibust.* par Raveneau de Lussan.) But it does not appear that those devout plunderers, who were shocked at seeing the *image* of a saint *maimed*, were more tender than the English Buccaneers of the *persons* or *property* of their *fellow-creatures*, or that they often attempted to restrain their *impious associates* from acts of *injustice* or *inhumanity*.

some of the ports of Hispaniola, where they had established themselves in defiance of the Spaniards, and the English to those of Jamaica, where they could dispose of their prizes to more advantage, and expend their money more agreeably, either in business or pleasure.

Before the distribution of the spoil, each adventurer held up his hand, and protested he had secreted nothing of what he had taken; and if any one was convicted of perjury, a case that seldom occurred, he was punished in a manner which seems to deserve the imitation of better men. He was expelled from the community, and left, as soon as an opportunity offered, upon some desert island, as a wretch unworthy to live in society, even with the destroyers of their species!

After providing for the sick, the wounded, the maimed, and settling their several shares, the Buccaneers indulged themselves in all kinds of licentiousness. Their debauches were limited only by the want which their prodigality occasioned. If they were asked, what satisfaction they could find in dissipating so rapidly what they had earned with so much jeopardy, they made this ingenious reply:—"Exposed "as we are to a variety of perils, our life is very different "from that of other men. Why should we, who are alive "to-day, and run the hazard of being deadto-morrow, "think of hoarding?—Studious only of enjoying the present "hour, we never think of that which is to come[8]." This has ever been the language of men in such circumstances: the desire of passing life in indulgence and dissipation, not solicitude for the preservation of existence, seems to increase in proportion to the danger of losing it.

The ships that sailed from Europe to America seldom tempted the avidity of the first Buccaneers, as the merchandise they carried could not readily have been sold in the West Indies in those early times. But they eagerly watched

[8] *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, tome xv. liv. vi. ch. i.

the Spanish vessels on their return to Europe, knowing that they were partly laden with treasure. They usually followed the galleons and flota, employed in transporting the produce of the mines of Mexico and Peru, as far as the channel of Bahama; and if, by any accident, a ship was separated from the fleet, they instantly beset her, and she rarely escaped them. They even ventured to attack several ships at once; and the Spaniards, who considered them as dæmons, and trembled at their approach, commonly surrendered, if they came to close quarters[9].

A remarkable instance of this timidity on one side, and temerity on the other, occurs in the history of Peter Legrand, a native of Dieppe, who, with a small vessel, carrying no more than twenty-eight men and four guns, had the boldness to attack the vice-admiral of the galleons. Resolved to conquer or die, and having exacted an oath to the same purpose from his crew, he ordered the carpenter to bore a hole in the side of his own vessel, that all hope of escape might be cut off. This was no sooner done than he boarded the Spanish ship, with a sword in one hand, and a pistol in the other: and, bearing down all resistance, entered the great cabin, attended by the most desperate of his associates. He there found the admiral surrounded by his officers; presented a pistol to his breast, and ordered him to surrender. Meanwhile the rest of the Buccaneers took possession of the gun-room, and seized the arms. Struck with terror and amazement, the Spaniards demanded quarter[10]. Parallel examples are numerous in the history of the Buccaneers.

The Spaniards, almost reduced to despair, on finding themselves continually harassed by those ravagers, diminished the number of their ships; and the colonies relinquished their connexions with each other. These humiliating precautions, however, served but to increase the boldness of the

9 *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, tome xv. liv. vii. ch. i.

10 *Hist. of the Buccaneers*, part i. chap. vii.

Buccaneers. They had hitherto invaded the Spanish settlements only to procure provisions; but no sooner did they find their captures decrease, than they determined to procure by land that wealth which the sea denied them. They accordingly formed themselves into larger bodies, and plundered many of the richest and strongest towns in the New World. Maracaybo, Campeachy, Vera Cruz, Porto Bello, and Carthagena, on this side of the continent, severely felt the effects of their fury; and Guayaquil, Panama, and many other places on the coasts of the South Sea, were not more fortunate in their resistance, or treated with greater lenity [11]. In a word, the Buccaneers, the most extraordinary set of men that ever appeared upon the face of the globe, but whose duration was transitory, subjected to their arms, without a regular system of government, without laws, without any permanent subordination, and even without revenue, cities and castles which have baffled the utmost efforts of national force; and if conquest, not plunder, had been their object, they would in all probability have made themselves absolute masters of Spanish America.

Among the Buccaneers who first acquired distinction in this new mode of plundering, was Montbars, a gentleman of Languedoc. Having by chance, in his infancy, met with a circumstantial, and perhaps exaggerated, account of the cruelties practised by the Spaniards in the conquest of the New World, he conceived a strong antipathy against a nation that had committed so many enormities. His heated imagination, which he loved to indulge, continually represented to him innumerable multitudes of innocent people, murdered by a brood of savage monsters nursed in the mountains of Castile. He fancied that the unhappy victims called upon him for vengeance: he longed to embrue his hands in Spanish blood, and to retaliate the cruelties of the Spaniards, on the same shores where they had been perpetrated. He

11 *Hist. of the Buccaneers*, part i. ii. *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, ubi sup.

accordingly embarked on board a French ship bound to the West Indies, and joined the Buccaneers, whose natural ferocity he inflamed. Humanity in him became the source of the most unfeeling barbarity. The Spaniards suffered so much from his fury, that he acquired the name of the *Exterminator*[12].

Michaël de Basco and Francis Lolonois were also greatly renowned for their exploits, both by sea and land. Their most important, though not their most fortunate, enterprise was that of the Gulf of Venezuela, with eight vessels and six hundred and sixty associates. This gulf runs a considerable way up into the country, and communicates with the lake of Maraçaybo, by a narrow strait, which was then defended by a castle called *la Barra*. The bold adventurers took that fortress, and nailed up the cannon.

A.D. 1667.

They then passed the bar, and advanced to the city of Maracaybo, built on the western coast of the lake. But, to their inexpressible disappointment, they found it deserted and unfurnished; the inhabitants, apprised of their danger, having removed to the other side of the lake with their most valuable effects.

If the Buccaneers had not spent a fortnight in riot and debauchery, they would have found at Gibraltar, a town near the extremity of the lake, every thing which the people of Maracaybo had carried off, in order to elude their rapacity. On the contrary, by their imprudent delay, they met with fortifications newly erected. They had the glory of reducing these works at the expence of much blood, and the mortification of finding another empty town. Exasperated at this second disappointment, they set fire to Gibraltar; and Maracaybo would have shared the same fate, had it not been ransomed. Beside the bribe they received for their lenity, they took with them the bells, images, and all the ornamental furniture of the churches; intending, as they said, to

[12] *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, tome xv. liv. vii. ch. i.

build a chapel in the island of Tortuga, and to consecrate that part of their spoils to sacred uses [13]! Like other plunderers of more exalted character, they had no idea of the absurdity of offering to Heaven the fruits of robbery and murder, procured in direct violation of its laws.

But of all the Buccaneers, French or English, no one was so uniformly successful, or executed so many great and daring enterprises, as Henry Morgan, a native of Wales. While de Basco, Lolonois, and their companions, were squandering at Tortuga the spoils they had acquired in the gulf of Venezuela, Morgan sailed from Jamaica to attack Porto Bello; and his measures were so well concerted, that, soon after his landing, he surprised the sentinels, and made himself master of the town, before the Spaniards could put themselves in a posture of defence. A. D. 1668.

In hopes of reducing with the same facility the chief fortress, into which the citizens had conveyed their most valuable property, and all the plate belonging to the churches, Morgan thought of an expedient that discovers his knowledge of national characters as well as of human nature in general. He compelled the nuns and other women, and also the priests, whom he had made prisoners, to plant the scaling ladders against the walls of the fortress, from a persuasion that the gallantry and superstition of the Spaniards would not suffer them to fire on the objects of their love and veneration. But he found himself deceived in this flattering conjecture. The Spanish governor, who was a resolute soldier, used his utmost efforts to destroy every one that approached the works. Morgan and his English associates, however, carried the place by storm, in spite of all opposition; and found in it, beside a vast quantity of rich merchandise, bullion and specie equivalent to one hundred thousand pounds sterling [14].

[13] *Hist. of the Buccaneers*, part ii. chap. i.

[14] Id. part ii. chap. vi.

With this booty Morgan and his crew returned to Jamaica, where he immediately planned a new enterprise. Understanding that de Basco and Lolonois had been disappointed with regard to the plunder of Maracaybo, by their imprudent delay, he resolved, from emulation no less than avidity, to surprise that place. With this view, he collected fifteen vessels, carrying nine hundred and sixty men. These ravagers entered the gulf of Venezuela unobserved, silenced the fort that defended the passage to the lake of Maracaybo, and found the town, as before, totally deserted. But they were so fortunate as to discover the chief citizens, and the greater part of their wealth, in the neighbouring woods. Not satisfied, however, with this booty, Morgan proceeded to Gibraltar, which he found in the same desolate condition; and while he was attempting, by the most horrid cruelties, to extort, from such of the inhabitants as had been seized, a discovery of their hidden treasures, he was informed of the arrival of three Spanish men-of-war at the entrance of the lake.

A.D. 1669.

At this intelligence, which was confirmed by a boat dispatched to reconnoitre the enemy, the heart of the bravest Buccaneer sunk within him. But although Morgan considered his condition as desperate, his presence of mind did not forsake him. Concealing his apprehensions, he sent a letter to Don Alonzo del Campo, the Spanish admiral, boldly demanding a ransom for the city of Maracaybo. The admiral's answer was resolute, and excluded all hope of working upon his fears. "I am come," said he, "to dispute "your passage out of the lake; and I have the means of "doing it. Nevertheless, if you will surrender, with hu-"mility, all the booty and prisoners you have taken, I will "suffer you to pass, and permit you to return to your own "country, without trouble or molestation. But if you re-"ject this offer, or hesitate to comply, I will order boats "from Caracas, in which I will embark my troops; and,

" sailing to Maracaybo, will put every one of you to the " sword. This is my final determination. Be prudent " therefore, and do not abuse my bounty by an ungrate-" ful return[15]. I have with me," added he, " very good " troops, who desire nothing more ardently than to revenge, " on you and your people, all the cruelties and depredations " which you have committed upon the Spanish nation in " America."

As soon as Morgan had received this letter, he called together his followers; and, acquainting them with its contents, desired them to deliberate, whether they would give up all their plunder, in order to secure their liberty, or fight for it?—They unanimously answered, that they would rather lose the last drop of their blood, than resign a booty which had been purchased with so much peril. Morgan, however, sensible of his dangerous situation, endeavoured to compromise the matter, but in vain. The Spanish admiral continued to insist on his first conditions. When Morgan was informed of this inflexibility, he coolly replied: " If Don " Alonzo will not allow me to pass, I will find means to pass " without his permission." He accordingly made a division of the spoil, that each man might have his own property to defend; and having filled a vessel, which he had taken from the enemy, with preparations of gunpowder and other combustible materials, he gallantly proceeded to the mouth of the lake; burned two of the Spanish ships, and took one; and by making a feint of disembarking men, in order to attack the fort by land, he diverted the attention of the garrison to that side, while he passed the bar with his whole fleet, on the other, without receiving any damage[16].

The success of Morgan, like that of all ambitious leaders,

15 " Dated on board the royal ship, named the *Magdalen*, lying at anchor " at the entrance of the lake of Maracaybo, this 24th of April, 1669. Don " ALONZO del CAMPO." *Voy. des Flibust.*

16 *Hist. of the Buccaneers*, part ii.

served only to stimulate him to greater undertakings. Having disposed of his booty at Port Royal in Jamaica, he put to sea with a larger fleet, and a more numerous body of adventurers; and after reducing the island of St. Catharine, where he procured a supply of naval and military stores, he steered for the river Chagre, the only channel that could conduct him to Panama, the grand object of his armament. At the mouth of this river stood a strong castle, built upon a rock, and defended by a good garrison, which threatened to baffle all the efforts of the Buccaneers; when an arrow, shot from the bow of an Indian, lodged in the eye of one of those resolute men. With wonderful firmness and presence of mind, he pulled the arrow from the wound; and wrapping one of its ends in tow, put it into his musquet, which was already loaded, and discharged it into the fort, where the roofs of the houses were of straw, and the sides of wood, conformable to the custom of building in that country. The burning arrow fell on the roof of one of the houses, which immediately took fire; a circumstance which threw the Spaniards into the utmost consternation, as they were afraid, every moment, of perishing by the rapid approach of the flames, or the explosion of the powder-magazine. After the death of the governor, who bravely perished with his sword in his hand, at the head of a few determined men, the place surrendered to the assailants [17].

A. D. 1670.

This obstacle being removed, Morgan and his associates, leaving the larger vessels under a guard, sailed up the Chagre in boats to Cruces, and thence proceeded by land to Panama. On the savannah, a spacious plain before the city, the Spaniards made several attempts to repulse the ferocious invaders, but without effect: the Buccaneers gained a decided superiority in every encounter. Foreseeing the overthrow

[17] *Ulloa's Voyage*, vol. i.

of their military protectors, the unarmed inhabitants sought refuge in the woods; so that Morgan took quiet possession of Panama, and deliberately pillaged it for some days [18].

At Panama, this adventurer met with what he valued no less than his rich booty. A fair captive inflamed his savage heart with love; and, finding all his solicitations ineffectual, as neither his person nor character could easily inspire the object of his passion with favourable sentiments toward him, he resolved to second his assiduities with a seasonable mixture of force. "Stop, ruffian!" cried she, as she wildly sprang from his arms;—"stop! thinkest thou that thou canst "ravish from me mine honour, as thou hast wrested from "me my fortune and my liberty? No! be assured, that "my soul shall sooner be separated from this body:"—and she drew a poignard from her bosom, which she would have plunged into his heart, if he had not avoided the blow [19].

Enraged at such a return to his fondness, Morgan threw this virtuous beauty into a loathsome dungeon, and endeavoured to break her spirit by severities. But his followers becoming clamorous, at being kept so long in a state of inactivity by a caprice which they could not comprehend, he was obliged to listen to their importunities, and give up his amorous pursuit. As a prelude to their return, the booty was divided; and Morgan's share alone is said to have nearly amounted to one hundred thousand pounds ster-

18 *Ulloa's Voyage*, vol. i.

19 The Spanish ladies, however, as we learn from the freebooter Raveneau de Lussan, were not all possessed of the same inflexible virtue. The Buccaneers had been represented to them as devils, as cannibals, and beings who were destitute even of the human form. They therefore trembled at the very name of those plunderers: but, on a nearer approach, finding that they were men, and that some of them were handsome fellows, they want only suffered their honour to give way to the emotions of licentious love, and embraced the murderers of their husbands and brothers. *Voy. des Flibust.* chap. iv. v.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SAR

ling. He carried all his wealth to Jamaica, and never afterwards engaged in any piratical enterprise[20].

The defection of Morgan, and several other principal leaders, who sought and found an asylum in the bosom of that civil society whose laws they had so atrociously violated, with the total separation of the English and French Buccaneers, in consequence of the war between the two nations, which followed the Revolution in 1688, broke the force of those powerful plunderers. The king of Spain being then in alliance with England, she repressed the piracies of her subjects in the West Indies.

A.D. 1690.

The French Buccaneers continued their depredations with success, till the peace of Ryswick in 1697; when all differences between France and Spain having been adjusted, a stop was every where put to hostilities, and not only the association, but the very name of this extraordinary set of men, soon became extinct. They were insensibly lost among the other European inhabitants of the West Indies.

Before this period, however, the French colony in Hispaniola had arrived at a considerable degree of prosperity; and Jamaica, into which the spoils of Mexico and Peru were more abundantly poured, was already in a flourishing condition. The Buccaneers found at Port-Royal better reception, and greater security, than in any other colonial town. They could there land their booty with the utmost facility, and spend in a variety of pleasures the wealth arising from their piracy; and, as prodigality and debauchery soon reduced them again to indigence, that grand incitement to their sanguinary industry made them eagerly hasten to commit fresh depredations. Hence the settlement reaped the benefit of their frequent vicissitudes of fortune, and was enriched by their rapacity as well as their profusion; by the vices which led to their want, and their abundance.

[20] *Hist. of the Buccaneers*, part iii. chap. v. vi. After Morgan settled in Jamaica, he was knighted by that prince of pleasure and whim, Charles II.

The wealth, which flowed into Jamaica through that channel, gave great activity to every branch of culture; and, after the piracies of the Buccaneers were suppressed, it proved a new source of riches, by enabling the inhabitants to open a clandestine trade to the Spanish settlements, whence it had its origin. This illicit and lucrative commerce was rendered more facile and secure, by the Assiento which England obtained at the peace of Utrecht. In consequence of that contract, as I have already had occasion to observe, British factories were established at Carthagena and other important places; and the veil with which Spain had covered the state and transactions of her colonies, occasionally lifted by the Buccaneers, was now entirely removed. The agents of a rival nation, residing in her towns of most extensive trade and ports of chief resort, had the best opportunities of becoming acquainted with the interior condition of her American empire; of observing its wants, and knowing what commodities might be imported into it with the greatest advantage. The merchants of Jamaica and other English colonies were accordingly enabled, by means of information so authentic and expeditious, to assort and proportion their cargoes with such exactness to the demands of the market, that the contraband commerce was carried on to a vast amount, and with extraordinary profit [21].

A. D. 1713.

For the suppression of this trade, which, with that carried on by the British South-Sea Company, had almost ruined the rich commerce of the galleons, formerly the pride of Spain, and the envy of other nations, ships of force, under the name of *Guarda-Costas*, were stationed upon the coasts of those provinces to which interlopers most frequently resorted. Such a precaution was certainly prudent; but it ought to have been put in execution with equity. If the ships, commissioned to prevent that illicit traffic, had only seised the vessels really concerned in it, neither the com-

[21] Anderson's *Hist. of Commerce*, vol. ii.——Robertson's *Hist. of America*, book viii.

manders, nor the government that appointed them, could justly have incurred any blame; but the abuses inseparable from violent measures, the eagerness of gain, and perhaps a spirit of revenge, incited the Spanish officers to stop, under various pretences, many vessels that had a legal destination, and even to treat the seamen with great cruelty.

England, whose power and glory are founded on commerce, and who could not patiently suffer any restraint upon a branch of trade which custom had induced her to consider as lawful, was highly incensed, when she understood that those restraints were converted into hostilities, and carried to an excess inconsistent with the law of nations. The body of the people loudly called for vengeance; and the leading members in both houses of parliament directed all the thunder of their eloquence against the minister, who could tamely see his country exposed to such indignities. But sir Robert Walpole, who still swayed the councils of Great Britain, despised party rage and popular opinion, and therefore paid little regard to these violent invectives and seditious clamours. Strongly convinced of the importance of peace to a trading nation, he endeavoured to obtain, by negotiation, satisfaction from the court of Madrid. The preliminaries of a convention were accordingly signed in the beginning of the year 1739. And although the terms of this treaty were neither so honourable nor so advantageous to Great Britain as might have been wished, they were the best that could be obtained, without involving the kingdom in a war with Spain, and eventually with France, as was foreseen by that minister.

A. D. 1739.

The chief article of the convention provided, that the king of Spain should pay to the subjects of Great Britain the sum of ninety-five thousand pounds sterling, as an indemnification for their losses, in consequence of the seisures made by the Guarda-Costas. This was, in effect, acknowledging the injustice of those seisures; but, as no provision was made against future acts of violence, the grand question, "Whe-

"ther British vessels, navigating the American seas, should "be any where, or under any circumstances, subject to a "SEARCH?" being left to be discussed by a congress, the interests of the country were supposed to be betrayed, and the whole nation was thrown into a ferment. Petitions against the convention were sent from the principal trading towns in the kingdom; and the general outcry was, "A "free sea, or a war!" Walpole found himself under the necessity of resigning, or of yielding to the voice of the multitude: and the king of Spain, by neglecting to pay the stipulated sum at the appointed day, furnished him with a decent pretext for declaring war, without abandoning his pacific principles. On the contrary he affirmed, that the convention-treaty would have been attended with all the advantages that could be procured by the most successful war[22], and that future ages would do justice to the counsels that produced it. Oct. 19.

But although the pacific disposition of sir Robert Walpole, and his intimate knowledge of the essential interests of his country, rendered him averse to war, he no sooner resolved upon hostilities than the vigour of his measures was as conspicuous as his former moderation. A powerful fleet, under admiral Haddock, was sent to cruise off the coast of Spain; and admiral Vernon, an officer who stood high in the public favour, was appointed to the command of a squadron in the

[22] It would at least have been productive of more advantages than the war that ensued. And if it should be said, that it was impossible to foresee the subsequent misfortunes, which arose from a variety of causes, it may at least be affirmed in reply, that the interest of a few merchants concerned in a contraband trade, however lucrative, was not a sufficient object to engage two great nations in a war, the success of which must be doubtful, and which, it was evident, must be prosecuted at a vast expence of blood and treasure. It was the unsubmitting pride of the two nations that involved them in hostilities: and that pride, on the part of England, was inflamed by a set of ambitious men in both houses of parliament, who assumed to themselves the deluding name of patriots; but who, since time has elucidated their characters, appear to have been only a desperate faction, struggling for the emoluments of office.

West Indies. This gentleman had rendered himself conspicuous in the house of commons, by loudly condemning all the measures of the minister, and bluntly speaking his sentiments on every occasion. In a debate upon the Spanish depredations, he declared that he would undertake to reduce Porto Bello with six ships. This offer was echoed from the mouths of all the members in opposition, and reverberated from every corner of the kingdom. Vernon became the idol of the people: and the minister, in order to gain their confidence, sent him to fulfil his boast; not perhaps without hopes that he might fail in the attempt, and draw disgrace on himself and his party.

The event, however, justified the admiral's assertion. He sailed from Jamaica with no more than six ships, and two hundred and forty soldiers on board. Yet so dastardly were the Spaniards, and such was the romantic bravery of the British seamen, who mounted the walls of the fortifications in a manner thought impracticable, that Porto Bello was taken almost without bloodshed. Of that place some account must be given.

Nov. 22.

The town of Porto Bello is disposed in the form of a crescent, on the declivity of a mountain, which embraces an excellent harbour. This harbour was well defended by forts, all which were taken and blown up by admiral Vernon, who immediately abandoned his conquest. It could only indeed be of importance to the masters of Peru, as its opulence depended entirely upon its situation; and even that opulence could only induce an inconsiderable number of inhabitants constantly to reside on a spot so unhealthy, that it was denominated the *Grave of the Spaniards*. But during the annual fair, which lasted forty days, Porto Bello was a theatre of the richest commerce that was ever transacted on the face of the earth. Seated on the northern side of the isthmus which divides the two seas, thither were brought from Panama, on the Pacific Ocean, the gold, silver, and other valuable productions of Chili and Peru, to be ex-

changed for the manufactures of Europe; and there arrived the galleons from Old Spain, laden with every article of necessity, accommodation, and luxury. The sickly and almost deserted town was quickly filled with people: its port was crowded with ships; and the neighbouring fields were covered with droves of mules laden with the precious metals. Instead of silence and solitude, nothing was to be seen in the streets and squares but bustling multitudes, bales of goods, and chests of treasure[23].

But that rich commerce, and also the contraband trade, were afterward ruined by the abolition of the galleons, and the substitution of register-ships, which, sailing round Cape Horn, passed immediately to the ports of Chili and Peru, with a supply of European goods, and returned to Europe with the treasure by the same course. In consequence of this new regulation, which took place in 1748, the trade of Panama and Porto Bello rapidly declined; and these towns, formerly called the keys of communication between the North and South Sea, between Spain and her most valuable colonies, served in the sequel only as a passage for the negroes that were conveyed to Peru, and some other inconsiderable branches of decaying traffic[24].

The joy of the English nation, at the late success, was extreme. The two houses of parliament congratulated his majesty on the success of his arms: the people were confirmed in their opinion of Vernon; and his good fortune induced the minister to continue him in the command of the British fleet in the West Indies.

This compliance with the wishes of the people, however, served only to render the popular members in the house of commons more clamorous. They considered it as a partial victory, and resolved to push their advantage: they aimed at the entire removal of the minister; and a motion was even made for that purpose. Piqued at

A.D. 1740.

[23] Ulloa's *Voyage*, vol. i.

[24] Robertson's *Hist. of Amer.* book viii.

this ungenerous return (as he considered it) to his condescensions, sir Robert Walpole concluded a masterly speech (in which he refuted every charge brought against him) with the following keen expressions, that strongly mark the character of those contentious and venal times. "Gentle-"men," said he, "have talked a great deal of *patriotism*; a "venerable virtue, when duly practised! But I am sorry "to observe, that of late it has been so much hackneyed, "that it is in danger of falling into disgrace: the very idea "of true patriotism is lost, and the term has been prosti-"tuted to the worst purposes. A patriot! why, patriots "spring up like mushrooms: I could raise fifty of them "within four and twenty hours. I have raised many of "them in a night. It is but refusing to gratify an unreason-"able or insolent demand, and up starts a patriot.—I have "long heard of this *patriotic* motion," added he; "and let "gentlemen contradict me, if they can, when I say I could "have prevented it: by what means, I leave the house to "judge[25]!"

The reduction of Porto Bello was but a prelude to greater enterprises. Nothing less was resolved upon than the utter destruction of the Spanish settlements in the New World. With this view, a squadron was dispatched to the South Sea, under commodore Anson, in order to ravage the coasts of Peru and Chili; while twenty-seven sail of the line, beside frigates, fire-ships, bomb-ketches, store-ships, victuallers, and transports, with ten thousand soldiers on board, were sent to the West Indies under Sir Chaloner Ogle, to reinforce admiral Vernon, and co-operate with Anson, by means of intelligence to be conveyed across the isthmus of Darien. The land-forces were commanded by lord Cathcart, a nobleman of approved honour, as well as experience in military affairs: and the ardour of both soldiers and sailors to come to action was excessive. This ardour drew from lord Cath-

25 *Parliamentary Debates*, 1740.

cart the following words, in a letter to admiral Vernon. "In the troops I bring you, there is spirit, there is good will; "which, when properly conducted, will produce, I hope, "what the nation expect from us—will make us the glorious "instruments of finishing the war, with all the advantages "to the public that its happy beginning promises; and with "this distinguishing circumstance, that those happy effects "have been owing to a perfect *harmony* between the *sea* and "*land-forces*[26]."

The want of that harmony proved the ruin of the armament. As lord Cathcart unfortunately died soon after his arrival in the West Indies, the command of the land-forces devolved upon brigadier-general Wentworth, an officer without experience, resolution, or authority. He had nothing in common with Vernon but his obstinacy, and as great a contempt for the sea, as the admiral had for the land-service. These two ill-associated commanders, whose powers were discretionary, after being reinforced with some troops from the English colonies in America, determined to attack Carthagena. A. D. 1741.

The city of Carthagena is seated on a sandy peninsula, joined to the continent by two artificial necks of land, the broadest of which is not above seventy yards wide. Its fortifications are regular, and after the modern manner. The houses are mostly of stone, and the streets are broad, straight, and well paved. Nature has placed at a little distance a hill of a middling height, on which is built the citadel of St. Lazarus. This fort commands the town, and, in some measure, the harbour, which is the safest in the American dominions of Spain, and one of the best any where known. It is two leagues in extent, and has a safe and excellent bottom[27]. When the Spanish trade in South America was carried on by the galleons, those ships sailed to Carthagena

26 *Modern Universal Hist.* vol. xv. fol. edit.

27 Ulloa, lib. i. cap. 3.

before they went to Porto Bello, and visited it again on their return. Its trade has declined since their abolition; but the excellence of its harbour, and its vicinity to the rich provinces of Santa Fé and Popayan, must ever make it a place of great importance.

In consequence of the resolution of the English commanders to attack this opulent and strong city, a descent was made on the peninsula of Tierra Bomba, near the entrance of the harbour, which is known by the name of Boca Chica, or *Little-mouth*, from its narrowness, and which was fortified in a surprising manner with castles, batteries, booms, chains, cables, and ships of war. Several of the smaller castles were quickly reduced by sir Chaloner Ogle; and batteries being erected against the principal fortifications, the Boradera battery and Fort St. Joseph were successively taken by storm. A breach was made in Castillo Grande; and the British troops, supported by the seamen, advanced to the assault. Contrary to all expectation, they found the works abandoned. The Spanish ships, which lay across the mouth of the harbour, were either taken or destroyed; the passage was opened; the fleet entered without farther opposition, and the troops were disembarked within a mile of the city.

March 9.

After surmounting so many difficulties with such facility, the besiegers thought that little remained but to take possession of Carthagena. A ship was accordingly sent express to London with intelligence to that effect; and public rejoicings were held at Jamaica, and over all the English islands in the West Indies. But the animosities which broke out between Vernon and Wentworth disappointed the hopes of the nation, as well as the sanguine expectations of those who were concerned in the expedition. Each seemed more eager for the disgrace of his rival, than zealous for the honour of his country. The admiral was always putting the general in mind of the necessity of cutting off the communication between the town and the country, and of attacking

the citadel of St. Lazarus, by which it was defended. Resolutions, in a council of war, were taken for that purpose; but nothing was done in consequence of them. A shameful inactivity, which might partly proceed from the climate, seems to have possessed the troops[28].

The general, by way of recrimination, threw the blame of the delay upon the admiral, in not landing the tents, stores, and artillery. And it must be admitted that both were in fault. If Wentworth had attacked the citadel before the enemy had recovered from the panic, occasioned by the reduction of the forts that defended the harbour, the English would certainly have become masters of the place; whereas the inaction of the land-forces, beside the diseases to which it exposed them, gave the Spaniards time to recover their spirits, and to take every precaution for their defence. Nor was Vernon less remiss in his duty, in not sending his ships to batter and bombard the town by sea; for it is certain, notwithstanding some surmises to the contrary, that great execution might have been done by such a mode of attack. The largest ships could have lain near enough to have damaged the buildings without being exposed to much injury; and the bombs would have been attended with great effect, as the houses in that country are chiefly covered with shingles, or small thin boards, instead of slate or tiles.

During these disputes, the soldiers were employed in erecting batteries, to make a breach in fort St. Lazarus. But the heavy cannon not having been yet brought up, and

[28] The heat is excessive and almost continual at Carthagena; and the torrents of water that are incessantly pouring down, from May to November, have this singularity, that they do not cool the air, which, however, is sometimes a little moderated during the dry season by the north-east winds. The night is as hot as the day. Hence the inhabitants, wasted by profuse perspiration, have the pale and livid appearance of invalids: their motions are languid and sluggish; their speech is soft and slow, and their words are generally broken and interrupted. Every thing relative to them indicates a relaxed habit of body. Ulloa, lib. i. cap. v.

the batteries being far from completion, the chief engineer gave it as his opinion, that the place might be rendered so much stronger before the batteries could be opened, as to over-balance the advantage to be expected from them. This absurd opinion, seconded by the importunities of Vernon, determined Wentworth to hazard an assault, after all rational prospect of success from that kind of attack had ceased, until a breach should be made in the walls. So firm, however, was the courage of the British troops, that, if other instances of misconduct had not accompanied that unsoldier-like attempt, there is reason to believe Carthagena would have been taken. The assault, instead of being

April 9.

made in the night, was delayed till morning; the soldiers were conducted, by mistake, against the strongest part of the citadel; the scaling-ladders were found too short; the woolpacks and grenade-shells were left in the rear; and the admiral neglected to divert the attention of the enemy by battering the town from the sea, or even making use of his bomb-ketches[29]. In consequence of these errors, the brave assailants were exposed to the whole fire of the fort, and partly to that of the city, without the least power of defending themselves, or of annoying the Spaniards. A mere carnage ensued; and although a retreat was soon judged necessary, colonel Grant, who commanded the grenadiers, fell on the occasion, and six hundred of the flower of the English army were killed or severely wounded.

The besiegers were so discouraged by this unpropitious and ill-directed effort, that they gave up all hopes of being able to reduce the place. And the rainy season came on with such violence, as to render it impossible for the troops to live on shore. They were therefore re-embarked, and the enterprise was relinquished, after the admiral had made a feeble attempt to bombard the town, in order to convince the general of its impracticability; though that conclusion

29 *Univ. Hist.* ubi sup.——Smollett's *Hist. of Eng.* vol. xi.

did not fairly result from this impertinent experiment. On the contrary, it was affirmed, that the continuance of such a mode of attack, properly conducted, would have reduced the city to heaps of ruins; that a floating battery, which had been prepared, did not lie in the proper place for annoying the enemy; that the water was there indeed too shallow to admit large ships near enough to batter the town with any prospect of success, but that, a little toward the left, the harbour was sufficiently deep, and that four or five ships of the line might have been moored within pistol-shot of the walls[30].

After the re-embarkation of the troops, the distempers peculiar to the climate and season began to rage with redoubled fury. Nothing was heard from ship to ship, but complaints and execrations; the groans of the dying, and the service for the dead! Nothing was seen, but objects of woe or images of dejection; and the commanders, who had agreed in nothing else, were unanimous in pleading the expediency of a retreat from this scene of misery and disgrace. The fortifications of the harbour of Carthagena were accordingly demolished; and the English fleet sailed for Jamaica, to the astonishment and confusion of the mother country, as well as of the colonies. The people were depressed in proportion to that exuberant joy with which they had been elevated; nor was any thing afterward done by the conductors of this unfortunate enterprise, to retrieve the honour of the British arms. Although Vernon was reinforced with several ships of the line, and Wentworth with three thousand soldiers from England—and though they successively threatened St. Jago de Cuba, and Panama—they returned home without effecting any thing of consequence, after having lost about fifteen thousand men.

The expedition under Anson was not more fortunate in the beginning; and, but for accident, it would have termi-

30 *Univ. Hist.* vol. xv.

nated in equal disgrace. Being attacked by a furious storm in passing Cape Horn, two of his ships were obliged to return in distress; one was lost; and the greater part of his people died of the scurvy, before he reached the island of Juan Fernandez, which had been appointed as the place of rendezvous. In that delightful abode the remainder of his crew recovered their health and spirits; and, when he had again put to sea, he took several prizes off the coast of Chili, and plundered the town of Paita, on the coast of Peru, where he found a booty of silver to the amount of about thirty thousand pounds sterling.. From his prisoners he learned that, notwithstanding his reduced force, he had nothing to fear in those latitudes; as Don Joseph Pizarro, who commanded a Spanish squadron destined to oppose him, had been obliged to return to Rio de la Plata, after having lost two ships and fifteen hundred men, in attempting to double Cape Horn.

But this consolatory intelligence was balanced by information of a less agreeable kind. The commodore also learned, from some papers found on board his prizes, that the English expedition against Carthagena had miscarried. This discouraging news made him sensible of the impropriety of attempting to execute that part of his instructions, which regarded an attack upon Panama, in consequence of a supposed co-operation with the British troops, across the isthmus of Darien. He therefore bore away for Acapulco, in hopes of intercepting the Manilla galleon, which he understood was then at sea. Happily for the Spaniards, she had reached

A. D. 1742. that port before his arrival. He endeavoured to intercept her in her return, but without effect. At this time he had only one ship, as two had been destroyed or abandoned for want of men to navigate or means to repair them. He at length reached Tinian, one of the Ladrone islands, where he and his crew were gratified with ample refreshments. He then sailed toward China, and arrived at

Macao after a long and distressful voyage. Having refitted his ship, and taken in a supply of provisions, he again launched into the Pacific Ocean; and, after cruising for some time, he fortunately met with and took the annual ship bound from Acapulco to Manilla, laden with treasure, to the amount of about three hundred thousand pounds sterling, beside a variety of valuable commodities[31]. A. D. 1743.

Anson now returned to the coast of China, where he asserted the honour of the British flag in a very spirited manner; and, after an absence of about three years and nine months, he re-appeared on the shores of England, to the great joy of his countrymen, who had heard of his disasters, and concluded that he and all his crew were lost. The Spanish treasure was carried to the Tower in pompous parade; and an expedition, which, all things considered, ought rather to have been deemed unfortunate, was magnified beyond measure. Anson's perseverance, however, deserved praise; and the success of a single ship seemed to point out what might be performed by a strong squadron on the coasts of the South Sea; but the failure of the formidable enterprise against Carthagena was still so fresh in the memory of the nation, that no farther attempt was made during the war to distress the Spanish settlements in America. A. D. 1744.

I shall here, my dear Philip, close this letter; as the naval transactions in the European seas, though seemingly connected with the subject, will more properly enter into the general narration. The war, occasioned by the death of the emperor Charles VI. must now engage our attention.

[31] *Anson's Voyage*, by Walter. The treasure consisted of one million three hundred and thirteen thousand eight hundred and forty dollars or pesos, with uncoined silver equal in value to forty-three thousand six hundred and eleven dollars.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.

LETTER XXVIII.

A general View of the Affairs of Europe, from the Death of Charles VI. to the Treaty of Dresden, in 1745, *and the Confirmation of the Treaty of Breslau.*

THE death of the last prince of the ancient and illustrious house of Austria, without male issue, awakened the ambition of many potentates, the adjustment of whose pretensions threw Europe into a ferment. By virtue of the Pragmatic Sanction, as well as the rights of blood, the succession to all the Austrian dominions belonged to the archduchess Maria-Theresa, the late emperor's eldest daughter, married to Francis of Lorrain, grand-duke of Tuscany. The kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, the provinces of Silesia, Austrian Suabia, Upper and Lower Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, Burgaw, Brisgaw, the Low Countries, Friuli, Tirol, the duchies of Milan, Parma, and Placentia, composed that ample inheritance.

A. D. 1740.

Almost all the European powers had guarantied the Pragmatic Sanction; but, as prince Eugene judiciously remarked, "a hundred thousand men would have guarantied it better "than a hundred thousand treaties!" Selfish avidity and lawless ambition can only be restrained by force. Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, laid claim to the kingdom of Bohemia, on the strength of an article in the will of the emperor Ferdinand I. brother to Charles V. Augustus II. king of Poland and elector of Saxony, exhibited pretensions to the whole Austrian succession, in right of his wife, eldest daughter of the emperor Joseph, elder brother of Charles VI. His catholic majesty deduced similar pretensions from the rights of the daughter of the emperor Maximilian II. wife to Philip II. of Spain, from whom he was descended by females; and the king of Sardinia revived an obsolete claim to the

duchy of Milan. The king of France also pretended that he had a right to the whole disputed succession, as being descended in a right line from the eldest male branch of the house of Austria, by two princesses, married to his ancestors, Louis XIII. and XIV. But, conscious that such a claim would excite the jealousy of all Europe, he did not appear as a competitor; though he was not without hopes of aggrandising himself, and of dismembering the Austrian dominions, by abetting the claims of another.

In the mean time Maria-Theresa took quiet possession of that vast inheritance which was secured to her by the Pragmatic Sanction. She received the homage of the states of Austria at Vienna; and the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia swore allegiance to her by their deputies, as did the Italian provinces. Possessed of a popular affability, which her predecessors had seldom put in practice, she gained the hearts of her subjects, without diminishing her dignity. But, above all, she ingratiated herself with the Hungarians, by voluntarily accepting the ancient oath of their sovereigns; by which the subjects, in case of an invasion of their privileges, are allowed to defend themselves, without being treated as rebels.

As the ancestors of this princess had ever been backward in complying with such engagements, the early adoption of that prudent measure was attended with extraordinary popularity. The Hungarians, who, after two hundred years spent in seditious broils and civil wars, still bore with impatience the Austrian yoke, submitted with pleasure to the government of Maria-Theresa, whom they almost adored, and who was worthy of their high regard. Her first care, after conciliating the affections of her people, was to procure for her husband a share in all her crowns, under the title of co-regent: and she flattered herself, that the consequence, thus conferred upon the grand duke, would soon raise him to the imperial throne. But she had forgotten that she was destitute of money; that a number of pretenders, for the

whole or a part of the Austrian succession, were rising up against her; and that her troops, though far from inconsiderable, were dispersed over her extensive dominions.

The first alarm was given by a formidable, but unexpected, pretender. Frederic III. king of Prussia, had lately succeeded his father, Frederic William, a wise and politic prince, who had, by rigid œconomy, amassed a prodigious treasure, though he maintained, for his own security, an army of sixty thousand men, which he prudently left his son to employ. "If we may be said to owe the shade of the "oak," observes the royal historian, "to the acorn from "which it sprang, in like manner we may discern, in the "sagacious conduct of Frederic William, the source of the "future greatness of his successor[1]."

This ambitious, enlightened, and enterprising monarch, whose character I shall have occasion to develope
A. D. 1741.
in describing his heroic achievements, and in tracing his extensive plans of policy, revived an antiquated claim of his family to a part of Silesia; and, instead of having recourse to unmeaning manifestoes, he began his march at the head of thirty thousand disciplined warriors, in order to establish his right. When he found himself in the heart of that rich province, and in possession of Breslau, its capital, he shewed a disposition to negotiate. He offered to supply Maria-Theresa, then commonly known by the appellation of Queen of Hungary, with money and troops; to protect, to the utmost of his power, the rest of her dominions in Germany, and to use all his interest to place her husband on the imperial throne, provided she would cede to him the Lower Silesia.

That would have been a small sacrifice for peace and security. But the queen was sensible, that, by yielding to the claims of one pretender, she should only encourage those of others. She therefore rejected, perhaps too hastily, the

[1] *Mem. de Brandebourg*, tome ii.

offers of the king of Prussia, and sent count Neuperg, one of her best generals, with a strong body of troops into Silesia, to expel the invaders. The two armies, nearly equal in number, met at Molwitz near Neiss, where a fierce battle ensued. When it had continued four hours, the Austrians, in spite of their most vigorous efforts, were obliged to retire under the cannon of Neiss. April 10, N. S.

This victory, which was followed, though not immediately, by the reduction of Glatz and Neiss, and the submission of the whole province of Silesia, was acquired solely by the firmness of the Prussian infantry, and their celerity in firing, in consequence of a new exercise which they had learned from their young king. The cavalry were totally routed, by the superiority of the Austrians in horse; the royal baggage was pillaged, and the king himself, in danger of being made prisoner, was carried off the field, in the more early part of the engagement. But the second line of infantry stood immoveable; and by the admirable discipline of that body the battle was restored [2].

The success of the king of Prussia astonished Europe; and the refusal of Maria-Theresa to comply with his demands, which had lately been dignified with the name of greatness of soul, was now branded with the appellation of imprudent obstinacy and hereditary haughtiness:—so apt are mankind to judge of measures by events, and to connect wisdom with good fortune, and folly with disaster!—But, even at this distance of time, when a more impartial judgment may be formed, if the queen's resolution were again to be taken, it would be difficult for political sagacity to direct her which alternative to choose. What might have been the consequence of her compliance with the proposals of the Prussian monarch, it is impossible to say; but we know that her intrepidity of spirit in resolving, at all hazards, to preserve undivided the Austrian succession, exalted her in the esteem

2. Voltaire, *Siecle de Louis XV.* chap. v.

of her most natural and powerful allies, who ultimately secured to her the greater part of that inheritance. It must, however, be admitted, that Frederic's successful invasion, the unforeseen consequence of her refusal, and an assurance of the support of so powerful a prince, encouraged the court of Versailles in the ambitious project of placing the elector of Bavaria on the imperial throne. The rise of this scheme deserves to be traced.

France had guarantied the Pragmatic Sanction; and cardinal Fleury, whose love of peace increased with his declining years, was desirous of preserving inviolate the engagements of his master. But no sooner was it known at Versailles that the king of Prussia had invaded Silesia, than the cardinal found himself unable to withstand the ardour for war in the French councils. This ardour was increased by the battle of Molwitz, and the failure of the English in their attempt upon Spanish America. Assured of the assistance of Spain, which turned a wishful eye on the Italian possessions of the queen of Hungary, the princes of the blood and young nobility, eager for an opportunity of distinguishing themselves in arms, represented to the king, that the period so long desired had now arrived, of finally breaking the power of the house of Austria, and exalting that of Bourbon on its ruins; by dismembering the dominions of Maria-Theresa, and placing on the imperial throne Charles-Albert, elector of Bavaria, a stipendiary of his most Christian Majesty.

The moderation and natural equity of the French king yielded to arguments so flattering to his pride; and to the count, afterward mareschal and duke de Belleisle, and his brother the chevalier, the chief inspirers of these violent counsels, was committed the execution of that ambitious project. They proposed, that forty thousand men should pass the Rhine, and advance toward the Danube, before the beginning of June; that another army, of about thirty thousand men, should be formed on the side of Westphalia,

to over-awe the electorate of Hanover; and that proper application should be made to the most considerable princes of the empire, corresponding to their several situations, inviting them to concur in the destruction of the house of Austria, and to share in its spoils. Attempts were quickly made for carrying this plan into execution.

Meanwhile the count de Belleisle, being dispatched into Germany in the double capacity of ambassador and general, had concluded a treaty with the elector of Bavaria at Nymphenburg. By this treaty Louis engaged to assist that prince with his whole force, in order to raise him to the imperial throne; and the elector promised, that, after his elevation, he would never attempt to recover any of the towns or provinces of the empire which the French should have conquered; that he would, in his imperial capacity, renounce the barrier treaty, and suffer France to retain irrevocably whatever places might be subdued by her arms in the Austrian Netherlands. The count also negotiated a treaty between Louis and the king of Prussia; in which it was stipulated, that the elector, with the imperial crown, should possess Bohemia, Upper Austria, and the county of Tirol; that the king of Poland should be gratified with Moravia and Upper Silesia; and that Frederic should retain Lower Silesia, with the town of Neiss and the county of Glatz.

These treaties were no sooner concluded, than the French forces were put in motion; and Louis appointed the Bavarian elector, whom he intended to place in the first station among Christian princes, his lieutenant-general, with the mareschals Belleisle and Broglio to act under him. He at the same time issued a declaration, importing that, the troops of the elector of Hanover being in a threatening posture, he, as guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, had resolved, without prejudice to the Pragmatic Sanction, to send forces toward the Rhine, in order to guard the approaching election of an emperor, and to be ready to assist those princes who might call upon him for the execution of his engagements.

The fallacy of this declaration was obvious to all Europe; yet it did not fail of its intended effect. The king of Great Britain, alarmed for the safety of his German dominions, and finding, after a tedious and fruitless negotiation, that he could not depend upon the support of the Dutch, who were timid and backward, concluded a treaty of neutrality for Hanover; in consequence of which, not only the troops of that electorate, but the auxiliary Danes and Hessians, in British pay, who had been commanded to march to the assistance of Maria Theresa, were ordered to remain in their respective countries; and the embarkation of a body of British troops, collected for the same purpose, was countermanded. A subsidy of three hundred thousand pounds, granted by the British parliament, was however transmitted to the queen of Hungary, and proved a seasonable supply in the midst of her multiplied necessities.

Sept. 27, N. S.

In the mean time the elector of Bavaria, being joined by the French forces under mareschal Broglio, surprised the imperial city of Passau; and entering Upper Austria, at the head of sixty thousand men, took possession of Lintz, the capital of that duchy, where he received the homage of the states. From Lintz, several detachments of his troops advanced within a few leagues of Vienna; which being badly fortified, could make, it was generally thought, but a feeble resistance against the victorious enemy. And many of those who were best acquainted with Germany, and with military operations, considered that city as in extreme danger of reduction. The inhabitants took the alarm, and removed their most valuable effects to places of greater safety.

In this extremity of her fortune, the archduchess, committing her affairs to the care of her husband and her brave generals, left Vienna, and retired to Presburg in Hungary; where having assembled the states of that kingdom, she appeared before them with her eldest son (yet an infant) in her arms, and addressed them in a speech to the following purport. "Abandoned by my friends, persecuted by my

"enemies, and attacked by my nearest relatives, I have no "resource left but in your fidelity and valour. On you "alone I depend for relief; and into your hands I commit, "with confidence, the son of your sovereign, and my just "cause." At once filled with rage and compassion at these affecting expressions of confidence, by so flattering an appeal to their loyalty, and by the appearance of a young, beautiful, and heroic princess, in distress, the Palatines drew their sabres, and exclaimed, in a tone of enthusiasm, "We will "die for our KING [3] Maria Theresa!" Nor was this a momentary start of passion. While with tears they swore to defend her, they published a manifesto against the elector of Bavaria; and, by a solemn act of state, they decreed a perpetual exclusion of him and his posterity from the throne of Hungary.

The nobles were instantly in arms; and old count Palfy, whom the queen honoured with the name of *Father*, marched to the relief of Vienna with thirty thousand men. Kevenhuller, the governor, had a garrison of twelve thousand: count Neuperg was in Bohemia at the head of about twenty thousand: the grand-duke and his brother, prince Charles of Lorrain, who was the delight of the Austrian armies, commanded another large body; and prince Lobkowitz, count Berenclau, count Traun, and other general officers, were exerting themselves to the utmost in raising troops for the service of their mistress.

These powerful armies, the declining season, and the strength of the garrison of Vienna, induced the elector of Bavaria to moderate his ideas. Instead of investing that capital, he marched into Bohemia; and being there joined by about fifteen thousand Saxons, he laid siege to Prague. The place was taken by storm; and on this occasion not only the enterprising courage of Maurice count de Saxe, natural son of Augustus I. king of Poland, was particularly

[3] So the Hungarians always call their sovereign, whether male or female.

displayed, but he also exhibited a remarkable instance of his generosity and humanity. He saved the town from pillage, and the persons of the inhabitants from violence or insult. The elector, having been crowned king of Bohemia at Prague, proceeded to Frankfort, where he was chosen emperor, under the name of Charles VII.

A. D. 1742.

The mareschal de Belleisle, who made a splendid figure at the inauguration of the new emperor, seemed now in a fair way to complete his undertaking, more especially as he had found means to engage the Swedes in a war with the Russians, in order to prevent the latter from aiding the queen of Hungary. But events suddenly took a new direction in Germany, as we shall soon have an opportunity of observing. In the mean time we must turn our attention to the affairs of the north, and alſo take notice of those of England.

After the peace of the year 1739, which was not very honourable to the Russians or the Austrians, the Swedes, remembering with disgust the unfavourable terms to which they had been constrained to agree at Nystadt, and influenced by Gallic intrigues, made preparations for a war with Russia. The empress Anne, however, warded off the storm till her death, in the autumn of 1740. This princess was not destitute of merit, either in a political or private view; but she had the weakness to suffer herself to be guided by the counsels of her favourite Biron, whose government in her name was inhumanly despotic. She was succeeded by John, the son of her niece Anne, princess of Mecklenburg; and Biron, by the appointment of his too indulgent patroness, assumed the regency during the minority of the new sovereign. But he was quickly deprived of that dignity, and banished to Siberia, by order of the princess, who then took into her own hands the reins of government. Being unable to prevent the Swedes from rushing into a war, she sent count Lasci against them with a respectable army; and a battle ensued near Wilmanstrand in Finland, to the advantage of the Russians. This was the

only important event of the campaign; and it was soon followed by a revolution at Petersburg [4].

The boyars and people, dissatisfied with the administration of the princess of Mecklenburg, who did not sufficiently attend to the political concerns of her high station, and showed a strong partiality to Germans and other foreigners, turned their eyes toward Elizabeth, daughter of the great Peter. Lestocq, the physician and favourite of this princess, exerted himself so strenuously in her behalf, while French gold was also employed for the promotion of her interest, that she acquired the crown by a bloodless insurrection. She continued with success the war against Sweden, and insisted on the acquiescence of that court in her terms of peace. A contest arising for the succession to the Swedish throne, she recommended Adolphus bishop of Lubeck, while the king of Denmark [5] proposed his son; and prince Frederic of Hesse-Cassel was supported in a similar claim by his uncle, then reigning. To smooth the way for the elevation of Adolphus, Elizabeth at length consented to some restitutions, not indeed of former conquests, but of the territories seised during the recent war; and Adolphus was declared heir to the Swedish crown. The czarina, at the same time, was more inclined to assist the Austrian princess than to gratify the enmity of the French court against her; but she delayed her determination in that respect till she was better prepared to give powerful aid.

The intimate connexion between England and the house of Austria, since the Revolution in 1688, cemented by the blood spilled during two long and desolating wars, in which the subjects of the two powers had greatly signalised themselves, by opposing the ambition of Louis XIV., made the people consider this connexion, and not altogether without reason, as essential to the preservation of the liberties of Europe,

[4] Tooke's *History of Russia*, vol. ii.

[5] Christian VI. an amiable and patriotic prince, who succeeded his father Frederic IV. in 1730.

against the dangerous usurpations of the house of Bourbon. The English nation, therefore, warmly espoused the cause of the queen of Hungary; and no sooner was it known that France, in violation of the Pragmatic Sanction, had formed the project of dismembering the succession of Charles VI. and placing a creature of her own upon the imperial throne, than the cry was loud for war, and for fulfilling to the utmost the treaties with the late emperor. The miscarriages in the West Indies were forgotten; the increase of taxes, which had lately occasioned so much clamour, was disregarded; and liberal subscriptions were opened, by private individuals, for the support of Maria-Theresa.

George II. who seemed only to value the British crown as it augmented his consequence in Germany, was sufficiently disposed to enter into these views; and although the imminent danger, to which his electoral dominions were exposed, induced him to submit to a treaty of neutrality for Hanover, that treaty did not affect him in his regal capacity. As king of Great Britain, he might still assist the queen of Hungary; he might even, it was said, subsidise his electoral troops to fight the battles of Maria-Theresa. Of this he seemed convinced. But the leading members of the opposition in parliament had declaimed so long, and so eloquently, against continental connexions, that a change in his ministry was judged necessary before any effectual step could be taken.

The parliamentary opposers of sir Robert Walpole had lately increased their strength, and redoubled their zeal and vehemence of attack, so as to alarm and confound his dependents and partisans. Even by his own account[6], "the panic was so great among his friends, that they all declared that his retiring was become absolutely necessary," as the only means of carrying on the public business with efficacy. He was very unwilling to relinquish his power; but, when he found that he could not preserve a majority in the house of commons, he consented to retire

Feb. 11.

6 In a letter to the duke of Devonshire.

from the helm. In accepting the resignation of a minister for whom he had a high regard, the king was so affected that he shed tears [7].

On the retreat of sir Robert, who was ennobled as earl of Orford, the earl of Wilmington was appointed first lord of the treasury: Mr. Sandys, who had distinguished himself by his perseverance in opposing the minister, was declared chancellor of the exchequer: lord Carteret, the Cicero of the house of peers, became secretary of state; and the eloquent and patriotic Mr. Pulteney was restored to the dignity of a privy counsellor, and soon after created earl of Bath. Some changes of less consequence also took place.

From the new ministry the most popular measures were expected: nothing less was presumed on than a total renovation of the constitution. Various motions to this purport were accordingly made in both houses: but, to the astonishment of the nation, they were violently opposed, and quashed, by the very men who had lately maintained the principles on which they were founded, and whose former speeches had suggested them. The most important of these motions were the three following: one for appointing a committee to inquire into the conduct of affairs during the last twenty years; one for bringing in a bill to repeal the act for septennial parliaments; and one for excluding pensioners from the lower house. In this ministerial opposition, Mr. Pulteney, Mr. Sandys, and lord Carteret, particularly distinguished themselves.

The eyes of the people were now opened; and they discovered, that the men whom they had been accustomed to consider as incorruptible patriots, and who had so long distracted the councils of the nation with their thundering orations, were only the heads of an ambitious faction struggling for power, and ready, when gratified with a share in the honours and offices of the state, to espouse measures, and

7 Coxe's *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole.*

adopt maxims, which they had formerly reprobated, as pregnant with ruin and disgrace. This political apostasy was no less observable in their conduct with respect to foreign than domestic affairs. Though German subsidies, standing armies, and continental connexions, had been the constant objects of their indignation, while out of place, and had furnished them with the occasion of some of the finest strokes of their popular eloquence, the new ministry extended their complaisance to their sovereign in all these particulars, much farther than their execrated predecessors. Beside providing for the subsidies to Denmark and Hesse-Cassel, they procured a vote of five hundred thousand pounds to the queen of Hungary: they augmented the land-forces to sixty-two thousand five hundred men: they sent the earl of Stair into the Netherlands with sixteen thousand British soldiers, to make a diversion in favour of Maria-Theresa, even before they were assured of the concurrence of Holland; and they ordered those troops to be joined by six thousand Hessians, and sixteen thousand Hanoverians, in British pay. This army, however, after much idle parade, went into winter-quarters, without performing any thing of consequence; the earl being employed during the greater part of the summer in fruitless negotiations with the Dutch, in order to induce them to fulfil their engagements with the late emperor. The campaign was more active in Germany.

The good fortune of the elector of Bavaria terminated with his elevation to the imperial throne. He then received an account of the loss of Lintz, though it was defended by a considerable French garrison. Kevenhuller, the Austrian general, who had performed this important service, having dislodged the French from all the strong holds of Upper Austria, entered the emperor's hereditary dominions, defeated mareschal Thoring at Memberg, and took Munich. In the mean time prince Lobkowitz, with eleven thousand foot, and five thousand horse, was appointed to observe the motions of the French in Bohemia; while prince Charles of Lorrain, at

the head of thirty thousand infantry, and eighteen thousand cavalry, advanced against the Prussians and Saxons, who had invaded Moravia. They retired with precipitation, on his approach, and abandoned Olmutz, which they had taken [8].

This retreat was deemed an event of great importance by the Austrians, as it seemed to afford them an opportunity of uniting their whole force against the French under Belleisle and Broglio, who were too strong for prince Lobkowitz singly. But the active and enterprising king of Prussia, having received a numerous reinforcement under the prince of Anhalt Dessau, marched to the assistance of his allies in Bohemia. By his expedition and generalship, he arrived before the intended junction could be formed; and, in order to prevent it, he gave battle to prince Charles of Lorrain at Czaslau. The disciplined troops on both sides were nearly equal; but the Austrians had the advantage of a large body of barbarous irregulars, Croats, Pandours, Talpaches, who engaged with incredible fury [9]. The ranks of the Prussians were broken; the king left the field; and a total defeat must have ensued, had not the lust of plunder seised the Austrian irregulars at the sight of the Prussian baggage. Their example infected the regulars of the Austrian right wing, who also gave over the pursuit. The Prussian infantry took this opportunity of rallying; they returned to the charge; and, after an obstinate dispute, broke the main body of the Austrian army, and obliged prince Charles to retire with the loss of four thousand men.

The king of Prussia, though victorious, having some reason to suspect the sincerity of the court of France, began to turn his thoughts towards peace; and, being no less politic

8 *Annals of Europe*, 1742.

9 The first of these are the militia of Croatia. The *Pandours* are Sclavonians, who inhabit the confines of the Drave and Save: they wear a long cloak, carry several pistols in their girdle, and also make use of a sabre and poignard. The *Talpaches* are a sort of Hungarian infantry, armed with a musquet, two pistols, and a sword.

June 11, N. S. than brave, he concluded at Breslau, without consulting his allies, an advantageous treaty with the queen of Hungary. She ceded to him the Upper and Lower Silesia, with the county of Glatz; and he engaged to observe a strict neutrality during the war, and to withdraw his forces from her dominions within fifteen days after the ratification of the articles. A treaty of peace was concluded, nearly at the same time, between Maria-Theresa and the king of Poland, to whom she yielded some districts in Bohemia, while he guarantied to her the possession of the rest of that kingdom [10].

Upon the court of France, like a clap of thunder, came the intelligence of the treaty of Breslau: and the news which followed it did not contribute to alleviate the consternation occasioned by that blow. Belleisle and Broglio no sooner found themselves deserted by the Prussians, than they abandoned their magazines and heavy baggage, and retired with precipitation under the cannon of Prague. There they entrenched themselves in a kind of peninsular meadow, formed by the windings of the Moldau; while the prince of Lorrain, having formed a junction with the Austrian army under Lobkowitz, encamped in sight of them, on the hills of Grisnitz.

Finding themselves surrounded by superior forces, the French generals offered to evacuate Prague, Egra, and all the other places which they held in Bohemia, provided they should be permitted to retire with their arms, ammunition, and baggage. This proposal, though highly reasonable, was haughtily rejected by Maria-Theresa, who insisted on their surrendering prisoners of war. Belleisle, who had assumed the command in Prague, treated the queen's demand with disdain; assuring his master, that he apprehended nothing from the enemy but famine. The Austrian generals, though less skilful than brave, made him sensible that their

[10] Millot.——Voltaire.——Smollet.

approaches were not to be slighted. By cutting off his supplies, they reduced him to the greatest necessities, while they harassed his troops by very frequent assaults.

To permit the surrender of so fine an army was deemed inconsistent with the honour and glory of the French nation, as well as with its interest. Mareschal Maillebois, who commanded the French forces on the Rhine, had therefore orders to march to the relief of Prague, at the head of forty thousand men. When he arrived at Amberg, he was joined by thirty thousand French and Imperialists from Bavaria, under Seckendorff and count Saxe. Thus reinforced, he entered Bohemia without resistance. The prince of Lorrain now left eighteen thousand men to blockade the town, and advanced with the main body of the army toward the frontiers of the kingdom, in order to oppose Maillebois. At Hayd he was joined by the grand Austrian army under Kevenhuller, who had followed count Saxe and Seckendorff from Bavaria. Meanwhile Belleisle and Broglio broke out of Prague, and marched to Leutmeritz; and, as Maillebois was then in the neighbourhood of Egra, a junction with him did not feem impracticable. But prince Charles, by taking possession of the passes in the interposing mountains, defeated their scheme. Maillebois was under the necessity of returning to the Palatinate, whither he was followed, and harassed on his march, by the prince of Lorrain; while Lobkowitz, with a strong detachment, obliged Belleisle and Broglio again to seek refuge in the capital of Bohemia.

Soon after the renewal of the blockade, Broglio made his escape in disguise, and took the command of the French forces in the Palatinate, Maillebois being recalled; so that the fate of Prague, toward which the eyes of all Europe were now turned, rested solely on the courage and conduct of Belleisle and the small remains of that gallant army, which had given an emperor to Germany. All prospect of relief was cut off: a retreat seemed impossible; and famine,

accompanied with disease, its melancholy attendant, made cruel havock among the French troops. The intrepid spirit of Belleisle, however, which bore him up amid all his misfortunes, communicated itself to his officers and soldiers; and few days passed without sallies, in which the French had generally the advantage.

These sallies being chiefly occasioned by the zeal of the French in attacking the Austrian magazines near the town, prince Lobkowitz ordered them to be guarded by the flower of his army, in hopes that famine would soon compel the enemy to surrender at discretion. Now it was that Belleisle made known the resources of his genius. Having secretly formed the design of a retreat, he had with wonderful diligence remounted his cavalry, and sent troops of them out every day to forage. At last, by making, in one quarter of the town, a feint for a general forage, he marched out at another, with eleven thousand foot, and three thousand horse, and gained a day's march of prince Lobkowitz. The great extent of the walls of Prague had rendered this attempt the more practicable; and the better to amuse the enemy, he left a small garrison in that city. He had ten leagues to march before he could reach the defiles. The ground was covered with snow, the cold excessively intense; all the inhabitants of the country were his enemies, and the prince, with twelve thousand infantry and eight thousand cavalry, hung on his rear. Under all these disadvantages, however, he reached the defiles with his army unbroken. And with so much judgment had he planned his route, that, although the Austrians occupied all the passes on the two principal roads that led to Egra, he was enabled to continue his progress, by striking through frozen marshes, which had never perhaps before been trodden by the foot of man; he himself always pointing the way, though confined to his coach or sedan by a violent rheumatism. After a fatiguing march of twelve days, he reached Egra, which was

December.

still in the hands of the French, and entered Alsace without the loss of a single man by the hands of the enemy, but of a thousand in consequence of the rigour of the season[11].

We must now turn our attention toward Italy, where the war raged, during this campaign, with no less violence than in Germany.

I have already observed, that, on the death of Charles VI., the king of Spain put in a claim to the whole Austrian succession, and that the king of Sardinia revived one to the Milanese duchy. Both afterward thought proper to moderate their pretensions. The Spanish monarch seemed disposed to be satisfied with the Austrian dominions in Italy, which he intended to erect into a kingdom for Don Philip, his second son by the princess of Parma; and his Sardinian majesty, alarmed at the encroachments of the house of Bourbon, entered into an alliance with the queen of Hungary and the king of Great Britain, in consideration of an annual subsidy, and the cession of certain places contiguous to his dominions, though without absolutely renouncing his antiquated claim to the duchy of Milan. The other Italian powers affected, from fear, to remain neutral; so that, when a body of Spanish soldiers, under the duke de Montemar, landed on the coast of Tuscany, in the autumn of 1741, the grand duke, husband to the queen of Hungary, whose territories they came to invade, permitted them to pass through his dominions. The Genoese shewed no less complaisance to another body of Spanish troops: the Venetians issued a declaration to the same purpose; and the pope, as the common father of Christendom, wisely permitted both parties to take refuge alternately in the ecclesiastical state, and treated both with equal cordiality. Don Carlos, king of the Two Sicilies, while he declared himself neutral, resolved to abet the claims of his family to the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Milan. But the appearance of an

[11] *Annals of Europe.*——Millot.——Voltaire.

English squadron before his capital, which could soon have been laid in ashes, obliged him to submit, for a time, to a real neutrality as unnatural as that of the grand duke.

This transaction, and others connected with it, were attended with circumstances sufficiently interesting to merit detail; the more especially, as they lead us into the line of the naval operations of Great Britain in Europe.

Admiral Haddock had cruised in the Mediterranean ever since the rupture with Spain; and sir John Norris had repeatedly threatened the coasts of that kingdom, with a considerable armament, without achieving any memorable enterprise. At length the former of these officers seemed to have an opportunity of distinguishing himself and effectually serving his country As he lay at Gibraltar, with twelve stout ships, he was informed, that a strong fleet commanded by Don Joseph Navarro, with two hundred transports, and fifteen thousand soldiers on board, had passed the Strait in the night. He immediately stood to sea. He came up with the enemy, and was preparing to engage, when a French squadron, from Toulon, stood in between the hostile fleets with a flag of truce; and the commander sent a message to the English admiral, intimating that, as the French and Spaniards were engaged in a joint expedition, he was under the necessity of acting in concert with his master's allies. This unexpected interposition prevented an engagement, and the Spanish admiral proceeded with his convoy [12].

Worn out with years, and chagrined by repeated disappointments, Haddock resigned the command of the British fleet in the Mediterranean to rear-admiral Lestock, who was soon joined by seven ships of the line, under vice-admiral Matthews, a brave and able officer. Beside being appointed commander in chief on that station, Matthews was invested with full powers to treat with all the princes and states of Italy, as his Britannic majesty's minister. In this double

[12] Tindal's *Contin.* of Rapin, vol. viii.——Smollet, vol. xi.

capacity, he watched the motions of the Spaniards both by sea and land; and understanding that a body of the troops of Don Carlos, notwithstanding his pretended neutrality, had joined the Spanish army, he sent commodore Martin with an English squadron into the bay of Naples, with orders to bombard that city, unless the king would withdraw his troops, and sign a promise, that they should not act in conjunction with Spain during the war. The inhabitants of Naples were thrown into the utmost consternation, at this unexpected visit; and the king, being sensible that his capital, naturally much exposed by its ascending situation, was not in a state of defence, thought proper to comply with the conditions. He at first called an extraordinary council, which held several consultations, without coming to any fixed resolution. At length the British commodore, who had dropped anchor before the town at four in the afternoon, by a noble boldness put an end to farther hesitation. On receiving an ambiguous answer, he pulled out his watch, and fixing it to the main-mast, sternly replied, that the council must come to a final determination within an hour, otherwise he should be obliged to execute his orders, which were absolute. The king's promise of neutrality was immediately sent; and the English fleet left the bay before midnight[13]. History affords few instances of such decision and dispatch in affairs of equal importance.

As a prelude to the signing of this forced neutrality, which disconcerted the schemes of the court of Madrid, the Spanish army, under the duke de Montemar, had been obliged to retreat toward the frontiers of Naples, before the king of Sardinia, and count Traun, the Austrian general. Meanwhile, Don Philip, for whose aggrandisement the war had been undertaken, invaded Savoy with an army which he had led through France, and soon made himself master of that duchy. Alarmed at this irruption, and anxious for the

[13] *Annals of Europe.*——Tindal.

safety of his more valuable dominions, the king of Sardinia returned with his forces to the defence of Piedmont, which the Spaniards in vain attempted to enter. And count Traun found himself sufficiently strong, after the king of the Two Sicilies had withdrawn his troops, to maintain his ground, during the remainder of the campaign, against the Spanish army under the count de Gages, who was sent to supersede the duke de Montemar[14].

The Spaniards, in a word, had little reason to boast of their success in Italy; where their armies were reduced to great distress, by the vigilance of the British fleet in cutting off their supplies. The queen of Hungary, now all-victorious in Germany, was in possession of the territories of the emperor; so that the French, weary of supporting that prince, in whose cause they had lost a great number of their best troops, at last made proposals of peace on equitable, or rather humiliating, terms. This condescension was the more remarkable, as the councils of the court of Versailles were no longer influenced by the mild spirit of cardinal Fleury. He had died, at a very advanced age, in the beginning of the present year.

A. D. 1743.

But Maria-Theresa, elate with her unexpected success, and rendered confident by the support of so powerful an ally as the king of Great Britain, rejected all pacific propositions; while lord Carteret, who now acted as prime minister to George II., and who had formerly declaimed with so much violence against continental connexions, could now see nothing but triumphs to be acquired in Flanders, though the Dutch had not yet engaged to take part in the war. He therefore urged the necessity of maintaining the balance of power in Europe. In vain did the popular party in parliament reply, that this balance was no longer in danger; that the queen of Hungary herself was now sufficiently strong to protect all her dominions; that she had only to restore peace

14 Millot.——Voltaire.

to Germany, in order to be enabled to drive the Spaniards out of Italy; and that England, instead of rousing the jealousy of other states, by lavishing its blood and treasure in feeding the pride of an ambitious woman, ought to direct all its force against Spain, the only power with whom it was actually at war, and in whose humiliation it was particularly interested. These arguments met with little attention. The king of Great Britain was fired with the thirst of military glory; and the king of France, finding that peace could not be obtained for the emperor, made preparations for prosecuting the war with vigour.

In the mean time, the good fortune of the queen of Hungary continued to attend her. In Bavaria, Charles of Lorrain defeated the imperialists near Braunau, and took possession of their camp; while prince Lobkowitz, marching from Bohemia, drove the French from all their posts in the Upper Palatinate. These two generals afterward obliged Broglio to abandon a strong camp which he occupied at Pladling on the Danube, and to retire with precipitation toward the Rhine; the Austrian irregulars harassing him on his march, and cutting off a multitude of his men. When he reached Donawert, he was joined by twelve thousand men under count Saxe: yet he did not think proper to hazard an engagement, his main body being almost ruined. He retreated before prince Charles to Heilbron; and the emperor, abandoned by his allies, and stripped of his dominions, took refuge in Frankfort, where he lived in indigence and obscurity[15].

The operations on the side of Flanders, during this campaign, were far from being unimportant, though they were less decisive. The British and Hanoverian troops, commanded by the earl of Stair, and the Austrians under the duke d'Aremberg, began their march early in the year, from the Low Countries toward Germany. Louis ordered the

15 *Annals of Europe.*——Millot.

duke de Noailles to assemble a great force on the Maine, to prevent them from joining the prince of Lorrain; while he sent another army under the mareschal de Coigny into Alsace, in order to oppose that prince, if he should attempt to pass the Rhine. Having secured the towns of Spire, Worms, and Oppenheim, Noailles crossed the Rhine, and posted himself above Frankfort. The earl of Stair advanced toward him, and encamped at Killenbach, between the river Maine and the forest of Darmstadt. From this situation he moved to Aschaffenburg, with a view of securing the navigation of the Upper Maine, which was necessary for the conveyance of forage and provisions from Franconia. But he was anticipated by the vigilance and activity of the enemy; for Noailles, posted on the opposite side of the river, had already gained possession of the principal posts, so as to cut off all supplies[16].

When his Britannic majesty, attended by his second son the duke of Cumberland, and lord Carteret, arrived in the camp of the allies, he found the army, amounting to about forty thousand men, eager for battle, but in great want of provisions. The French general had taken his measures so wisely, that it was thought the confederates would be forced to surrender prisoners of war, or be cut to pieces in their retreat. A retreat, however, was resolved upon, both as necessary to procure subsistence, and to form a junction with twelve thousand Hessians and Hanoverians, who had reached Hanau, and were exposed to great danger. The troops were accordingly ordered to strike their tents, and to begin an expeditious march. Their route lay between a mountain and the river Maine, over which the French had been unaccountably permitted to erect several bridges. The allies were annoyed in their march, by the enemy's cannon on the opposite banks; and the French general, with a part of the main body of his army, marching over the bridges,

16 *Mem. de Noailles,* tome iv.

took possession of the village of Dettingen, in front of the allies, while in their rear a detachment occupied Aschaffenburg, which they had abandoned.

Having made these dispositions, which he flattered himself would oblige his adversaries to attack him under great disadvantage, the duke de Noailles repassed the Maine, the better to observe the motions of the hostile troops, and to bring forward the remainder of his forces. Meanwhile the duke de Grammont, his nephew and lieutenant-general, who was stationed at Dettingen with thirty thousand men, and all the young generals and princes of the blood, eager to engage, passed the defile behind which they were posted, and advanced into a small plain, where the allies had formed themselves in order of battle. Noailles, who was still on the other side of the river, beheld this motion with grief and astonishment, and made all the haste possible to form a new disposition. But he came too late to repair the mistake that had been committed; for although the French charged with great impetuosity, and the household troops put the Austrian cavalry into disorder, the British and Hanoverian infantry, animated by the presence of their sovereign (who rode between the lines with his sword drawn), stood firm as a rock, and poured forth an incessant fire, which nothing could resist. By a masterly manœuvre, on the approach of the French cavalry, led by the nobility and princes of the blood, who rushed on in seeming desperation, those intrepid battalions opened their lines, and, afterward closing again, made great havock in that gallant body. Terror now seised the whole French army; and Noailles found himself under the necessity of precipitately retreating over the Maine, after five thousand of his men had been killed, wounded, or made prisoners [17]. Had he been warmly pursued, the victory of the allies would probably have been complete. The earl of Stair proposed such a mea-

June 26, N. S.

[17] *Mem. de Noailles*, tom. iv.——Voltaire.——Tindal.

sure; but his sovereign, happy in having bravely extricated himself from one imminent danger, did not choose to rush into another. He was afraid of an ambuscade. His troops had received little sustenance for some days: they had had fatiguing marches; they had been many hours under arms; and the enemy had still a superior army, and a great train of artillery, it was said, to dispute the passage of the river.

These military considerations may be thought sufficient to account for the caution of the king—whose loss, in killed and wounded, amounted to three thousand men—without the intervention of invidious political motives. And it must be admitted, even by those who blame his conduct, and think the French might have been totally routed in their first confusion, that the circumstance of his being only an ally, and not a principal in the war, was a strong argument for his not risquing too much. Happy would it have been for his kingdom, if the same prudence had restrained him from taking so active a part in a quarrel, in which he was not immediately interested!—He dined on the field of battle, and in the evening prosecuted his march to Hanau; recommending his sick and wounded to the care of the duke of Noailles, who treated them with great humanity and tenderness [18].

18 The character of Adrian Maurice, duke de Noailles, who united the talents of the consummate general to those of the able statesman, at the same time that he successfully cultivated literature, and acquired the reputation of a good citizen, is one of the most amiable and exalted of the age in which he lived. He enjoyed in a very high degree the confidence of Louis XV. and delivered his sentiments to his sovereign, in a variety of letters and memorials on the most important subjects, with an honest freedom that is almost unexampled in a subject and a courtier. [See the third and fourth volumes of a curious work, entitled *Memoires Politiques et Militaires, composés sur les Pièces originales (recueillies par Adrien Maurice, Duc de Noailles, Mareschal de France & Ministre d'Etat), par l'Abbé Millot.*] Without the adduction of other instances, nothing can shew in a stronger light the magnanimity and disinterestedness of this nobleman, than his recommending to the king count Saxe, as the person in his service most capable of repairing the misfortunes of France. Experience proved that the justness of his discernment was equal to the uprightness

The king was no sooner joined by the expected reinforcement at Hanau than the earl of Stair proposed, that, as the numbers on both sides were nearly equal, the French should be attacked by passing the Maine. But, to the surprise of all Europe, no such attempt was made. George, flattered with humiliating proposals of peace from the emperor, became every day more irresolute. Even after the retreat of the duke de Noailles, who was under the necessity of marching to the assistance of mareschal Coigny, in Upper Alsace, which was threatened by prince Charles of Lorrain, no effort was made to disperse or destroy the body of observation left under count Saxe; and although the allied army was reinforced with twenty thousand Dutch auxiliaries in September, it was early distributed into winter quarters, without performing any thing of consequence after the victory of Dettingen.

The earl of Stair was so dissatisfied with this inaction, that he resigned in disgust; and the duke de Noailles, who had apprehended the greatest disasters, unacquainted with the restraints imposed upon the British commander, felicitated his master, with that modesty which is peculiar to real merit, that he had not to deal with an Eugene, a Marlborough, or a Staremberg; otherwise the issue of the campaign must have been very different. The duke effectually defeated the designs of prince Charles upon Alsace; but he could not prevent Mentzel, the famous partisan, from making an irruption, with four thousand Austrian irregulars, into Lorrain and Luxemburg, where he committed terrible depredations.

The campaign in Italy was not more decisive, though its beginning promised the most vigorous exertions. Count de Gages, who commanded the Spanish army in the province of

of his intentions; and degenerate ages must contemplate with astonishment a courtier who dared to speak truth to his prince, a statesman whose supreme object was the good of his country, and a general whose soul was superior to jealousy.

Bologna, passing the Panaro in February, attacked the Austrian and Piedmontese forces, under count Traun, at Campo Santo, where a desperate battle was fought, but without any decided advantage, both sides claiming the victory. Gages, however, found himself under the necessity of repassing the Panaro; and his army being much weakened by desertion, he retired to Rimini. He there fortified his camp, and remained unmolested till October, when prince Lobkowitz, having succeeded Traun in the command of the Austrian army, entered Romagna, and obliged the Spanish general to retreat to Fano. Gages afterward took post at Pesaro, fortifying the passes of the Foglia.

The season was so far in the decline, before the Spanish army in Savoy, under Don Philip, entered upon action, that the campaign on the side of Piedmont was distinguished by no important event. This inaction was occasioned by a secret negotiation between the house of Bourbon and the king of Sardinia; and notwithstanding the encomiums that have been paid to the fidelity of that prince, he would have entered into the views of France and Spain, if they had complied with his demands, or if the queen of Hungary had not agreed to more advantageous terms than they were willing to grant [19].

These negotiations produced the treaty of Worms; by which his Sardinian majesty renounced his pretensions to the duchy of Milan, and guarantied anew the Pragmatic Sanction. Maria-Theresa, beside relinquishing in his favour all title to the town and marquisate of Final, then possessed by the republic of Genoa, but on which she had some claims, agreed to put him in possession of the Vigevanesco, with that part of the duchy of Pavia which lies between the Po and the Tesino, and to cede to him the towns of Placentia and Bobbio, with all the territory from the source of the Nura to the lake Maggiore, and the frontiers of the Swiss Cantons.

19 *Mem. de Noailles*, tome iv.

She farther engaged to maintain thirty thousand men in Italy, as soon as the situation of her affairs in Germany would permit; and the king, on condition of his receiving from Great Britain an annual subsidy of two hundred thousand pounds sterling, obliged himself to keep up an army of forty thousand foot and five thousand horse [20].

This treaty, which dissipated all hopes of peace, and the haughty behaviour of the queen of Hungary, who not only refused to listen to any reasonable terms of accommodation with the emperor, but avowed her purpose of keeping possession of Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate, as an indemnification for the loss of Silesia, produced a great change in the sentiments of the principal German powers. Their jealousy of the ambition of the house of Austria revived; and their pride was wounded by the degradation of the imperial dignity in the person of Charles VII. now no better than an illustrious beggar, depending on the bounty of France for a precarious subsistence. They resolved to interpose in favour of the head of the empire, whose misfortunes had awakened their compassion. The court of Versailles, ever watchful, encouraged these new dispositions [21]; and a secret negotiation was begun with the distressed emperor, the elector Palatine, the king of Sweden (as landgrave of Hesse-Cassel), and the king of Prussia, who dreaded the speedy loss of his late conquests, unless the growing power of Maria-Theresa should be restrained. The issue of this negotiation, which was conducted by Chavigni, the French minister at the imperial court, or rather asylum, in Frankfort, we shall afterward have occasion to notice. In the mean time a family-compact (or perpetual alliance and mutual guaranty of possessions and claims) was formed between France and Spain at Fontainbleau [22], and great pre- Oct. 25.

[20] Tindal's *Contin. of Rapin*, vol. ix.

[21] *Mem. de Noailles*, ubi sup.

[22] One of the principal articles of this treaty imported, that no peace should be concluded unless Gibraltar should be restored to Spain. *Mem. de Noailles*.

parations were made for carrying on the war with vigour both by sea and land. Twenty thousand French soldiers, under the prince of Conti, were ordered to join Don Philip in Savoy; and the French and Spanifh squadrons at Toulon were commanded to act in concert, and attempt to recover the sovereignty of the Mediterranean. If successful, they were to join the Brest fleet; and, having established a superiority in the Channel, to assist in a projected invasion of England.

That enterprise, which had for its remote object the re-establishment of the house of Stuart, was more immediately planned with a view of obliging the king of Great Britain to recall his troops from the continent, and apply his attention to the defence of his own dominions, instead of engaging in the support of foreign powers. A correspondence was accordingly re-opened with the English and Scottish Jacobites, who readily offered their assistance, and magnified the public discontents, at the same time that they endeavoured to inflame them. The real discontents, however, were very great. The people were enraged at the mysterious inaction of the last campaign, which they justly ascribed to the influence of German counsels, and the political situation of George II. as elector of Hanover. Nor were they less dissatisfied at the prospect of the continuance of a bloody and expensive war, in which Great Britain was likely to become a principal instead of an ally, after an honourable peace might have been concluded with the emperor, and the queen of Hungary secured in the possession of all the Austrian dominions in Germany, except Silesia, which she had ceded to the king of Prussia. A general disgust at the measures of the court prevailed.

Encouraged by these favourable appearances, the paucity of troops in England, and the assurances of a powerful support from the gentry and the people, Louis entered seriously into the views of the cardinal de Tencin, who had projected the enterprise; and sanguine hopes were entertained of the

elevation of the pretender to the British royalty. Tencin was warmly attached to the Stuart family, by whose interest he had been raised to the purple; and having taken the lead in the French administration, on the death of cardinal Fleury, he was ambitious of shewing his gratitude to his friends, and at the same time of serving his master, by giving a new king to Great Britain.

Nor did such a revolution seem impossible, with the force that was prepared, to those who were best acquainted with the situation of this kingdom, if France had possessed the sovereignty of the sea. Fifteen thousand men were assembled in Picardy, under count Saxe; and a number of transports were collected at Calais, Dunkirk, and Boulogne. Charles Edward, eldest son of the chevalier de St. George, and to whom that prince had delegated his pretensions, left Rome, and arrived in the French camp. A descent was to be made on the coast of Kent; and M. de Roquefeuille, with twenty ships of war, sailed exultingly up the Channel, to protect the transports and cover the landing of the troops. Seven thousand men were embarked, and the first division of the transports put to sea: but a sudden storm arising, they were driven back upon the French coast. Many of them were shattered; some of the largest, with all the men, were lost; and a superior English fleet, commanded by sir John Norris, obliged M. de Roquefeuille to retire with precipitation to Brest [23]; so that the young pretender, after having a sight of the promised land, found himself under the necessity of waiting for a more favourable state of affairs, before he could attempt the recovery of the throne of his ancestors.

A. D. 1744.

The alarm occasioned by this formidable, though abortive, enterprise, united the Whigs in the firm support of the existing government. They were made sensible, that their opposition to some unpopular measures, and their political

23. *Contin. of Rapin*, ubi sup.

jealousies of each other, had been represented by the enemies of Great Britain as a proof of their dislike to the reigning family; and that the chevalier de St. George had founded his hopes of success chiefly on the division among the friends of the protestant succession. This appeared by a letter which he wrote to John duke of Argyle, an inconsistent but zealous Whig, whom the Jacobites supposed to be ready for a revolt, on account of the violence of his speeches in parliament, and whom the pretender requested to dictate his own terms [24]. But that harmony was of short duration. The intelligence which soon arrived of a naval engagement in the Mediterranean, and the judicial proceedings relative to it, gave rise to new divisions and discontents.

In consequence of the late alliance between France and Spain, the admirals of the combined fleet, in the harbour of Toulon, resolved to give battle to that of England, by which they had been blocked up, and which prevented them from carrying provisions or military stores to the Spanish armies in Italy. The Spanish squadron, commanded by Don Joseph Navarro, consisted of sixteen sail of the line (though only twelve were fully manned); and the French squadron, under M. de Court, of fourteen sail of the line, four frigates, and three fire-ships. On the other hand, the British admirals, Matthews and Lestock, had the command of twenty-eight sail of the line, six ships of fifty guns, four frigates, and two fire-ships; a force which, if a misunderstanding had not prevailed between those officers, might have utterly ruined the associated fleets.

Matthews, as soon as he saw the French and Spanish fleets quit the road of Toulon, weighed anchor from the bay of Hieres, and bore down upon them. An engagement ensued, in which he behaved with great gallantry. But he was ill supported by his captains, and Lestock, with his whole division, remained all the time at a

Feb. 11.

[24] *Contin. of Rapin*, ubi sup.

distance; so that the contest was long doubtful, and only the most vigorous exertions could have saved the ships that were engaged from being taken or destroyed. Victory, however, at last, declared in favour of Matthews. The combined fleet, after an action of six hours, was obliged to retreat, with the loss of one ship of the line, named the Poder. The royal Philip, another disabled ship, might also, it is supposed, have been taken, had the English admiral continued the chase; but his orders to guard the coast of Italy being positive, he did not think himself at liberty to neglect that important object, and run the hazard of being drawn down the Strait, for the precarious possibility of making a single prize, the other ships of the enemy sailing too fast to leave him any hope of coming up with them [25].

The loss of this opportunity of breaking the naval power of the house of Bourbon occasioned loud complaints in England; and the failure of the British fleet to destroy that of the enemy became the subject of a parliamentary inquiry. From a committee of the house of commons, the matter was referred to a court-martial. Several captains were convicted of misbehaviour, and subjected to different degrees of punishment; but, to the astonishment of the public, Lestock was fully acquitted, and Matthews declared incapable of serving for the future in his majesty's navy; though it was evident to every unprejudiced mind, that Lestock, by keeping aloof, when he had it in his power to engage, was not only the cause of the miscarriage complained of, but of exposing the British fleet to the most imminent danger, in order to gratify his vindictive spirit; while Matthews, rushing into the heat of action, fought like a hero, and discovered a noble zeal for the service of his king and country [26]. Such ridiculous things, as experience has since repeatedly proved, are courts martial in factious times!

Before these judicial proceedings were finished, mutual

[25] See the *Defence* made by Matthews on his Trial.

[26] Compare the *Trials* of Matthews and Lestock.

March. declarations of war had been issued by the kings of France and England, who thenceforth became in some measure principals in the continental quarrel, the court of Versailles having also declared war in form against her Hungarian majesty. Louis accused George of having violated the compact for the neutrality of Hanover, of dissuading the queen from coming to an accommodation with the emperor, and of blocking up the ports and disturbing the commerce of France. His Britannic majesty recriminated, by accusing the French king of violating the Pragmatic Sanction; of attempting to destroy the balance of power in Europe, by dismembering the Austrian succession; of assisting the Spaniards, the avowed enemies of England, both secretly and openly, in contempt of the faith of treaties; of harbouring the pretender, and furnishing him with a fleet and army to invade Great Britain; and of committing actual hostilities on the British fleet in the Mediterranean[27]. Both parties had formed the most sanguine, and not ill-grounded, hopes of success: the king of Great Britain depended on the valour of his troops, the hearty co-operation of the Dutch, and the vigorous exertions of the court of Vienna; the house of Bourbon on the new alliances they were forming in Germany, and the vast preparations they had made for prosecuting the war, both in Italy and the Low Countries.

The campaign in Italy began early on the side of Piedmont. Don Philip, being joined by the prince of Conti, passed the Var, which descends from the Alps, and falls into the sea of Genoa a little below the city of Nice. The whole county of Nice submitted. But before the confederates could advance so far as they wished, they had to force the Piedmontese entrenchments at Villa Franca, and afterwards to reduce the castle of Montauban, situated among rocks, which form a chain of almost inaccessible ramparts. All these difficulties, however, were surmounted by the valour of the French and Spaniards, though not with-

27 Printed *Declarations of War*.

out great loss[28]. Their intention was, to penetrate into the duchy of Milan through the Genoese territories; a measure that would have been attended with pernicious consequences to the queen of Hungary and the king of Sardinia. Admiral Matthews, who had by this time returned to the coast of Italy, therefore sent a spirited message to the senate of Genoa, declaring, that if the confederate army should be suffered to pass through the dominions of the republic, he must consider it as a breach of her neutrality, and would be under the necessity of immediately commencing hostilities against her subjects.

Alarmed at this menace, the Genoese, though secretly in the interest of the house of Bourbon, prevailed upon Philip and the prince to choose another route. They accordingly defiled off toward Piedmont, by the way of Briançon, and attacked the strong post of Chateau-Dauphin, where the king of Sardinia commanded in person. It was carried after a desperate attack, in which the officers and soldiers of the two confederate, yet rival nations, performed wonders. "We may behave as well as the French," said the count de Campo Santo to the marquis de las Minas, who commanded under Philip; "but we cannot behave better."—"This has "been," says the prince of Conti, in a letter to Louis, "one "of the most hot and brilliant actions that ever happened: "the troops have shewn a courage more than human[29]. "The valour and presence of mind of M. de Chevert chiefly "decided the advantage. I recommend to you M. de Solemi "and the chevalier de Modena. La Carte is killed. Your "majesty, knowing the value of friendship, will feel how "much I am affected by his loss!" History records with particular pleasure such expressions of generosity and sym-

28 Voltaire,——Millot.

29 They had the boldness to clamber up rocks of an extraordinary height, mounted with cannon, and to pass through the embrasures, when the guns recoiled.

pathy as do honour to the human character. The appeal of the prince to the heart of Louis is elegant and emphatic.

After losing the important pass of Chateau-Dauphin, and another called the Barricades, the king of Sardinia, not being in a condition to hazard a battle, drew off his troops and artillery from the frontiers, in order to cover his capital. He took post at Saluzzo, to the southward of Turin; while the confederates, having made themselves masters of the castle of Demont, situated on a rock in the valley of Stura, and deemed impregnable, invested the strong town of Coni, the possession of which was necessary to open a passage into the duchy of Milan. The king, being reinforced by ten thousand Austrians under Pallavicini, resolved to attempt the relief of the place. He accordingly advanced, in September, with a superior force, and attacked the French and Spaniards in their entrenchments. But, after an obstinate engagement, in which valour and conduct were equally conspicuous on both sides, he was obliged to retire, with the loss of four thousand men, to his camp in the valley of Murasso. The loss of the enemy was little inferior. And his Sardinian majesty having found means to reinforce the garrison of Coni, and also to convey into the town a supply of provisions, Don Philip and the prince of Conti were obliged to raise the siege, which they had continued till the latter part of November, to the great injury and diminution of their army. Having destroyed the fortifications of Demont, in their retreat, they utterly evacuated Piedmont, and took up their winter-quarters in Dauphiné. But the Spaniards still continued in possession of Savoy, which they fleeced without mercy [30].

The campaign, in the south of Italy, was also distinguished by a diversity of fortune. Don Carlos having, in violation

30 Voltaire.——Millot.——Smollet.——*Contin.* of Rapin, vol. ix. The two last volumes of this Continuation were written by the late Mr. Guthrie, though they bear the name of Tindal.

of his forced neutrality, joined the Spanish army with twenty-five thousand men, prince Lobkowitz, the Austrian general, was ordered to invade the kingdom of Naples. He accordingly left the neighbourhood of Rome, and advanced toward Velitri, near which the confederates were posted. While the two armies lay in sight of each other, prince Lobkowitz sent a strong detachment into the province of Abruzzo, where they distributed a manifesto, in the name of her Hungarian majesty, exhorting the inhabitants to throw off the Spanish yoke, and put themselves again under the protection of the house of Austria. That measure, however, was attended with very little success, the Neapolitans shewing no inclination to rebel. Lobkowitz, therefore, collected his forces, and resolved to make an attack upon the head-quarters of the enemy at Velitri. This enterprise he committed to Ulysses Maximilian, count Brown, an able and active general; and, to promote the success of the scheme, he amused the enemy with ambiguous motions. At the head of six thousand select warriors, the count surprised Velitri in the night; and the duke of Modena and the king of the Two Sicilies were in great danger of being made prisoners. They escaped with difficulty to the quarters of the count de Gages, who performed, on this occasion, the part of a great captain. He rallied the fugitives, removed the panic which had begun to prevail in the camp, and made a masterly disposition for cutting off the communication of the detachment of the enemy with the main body. Count Brown therefore, apprehending that he might be surrounded, thought proper to attempt a retreat. This he effected with skill and gallantry, carrying away copious spoils. Three thousand of the Spaniards and Neapolitans are said to have been killed in this nocturnal encounter, and eight hundred were taken. The Austrians lost only about six hundred men; but the failure of the enterprise, and the heats of autumn, proved fatal to their hopes. Prince Lobkowitz seeing his army daily mouldering away, without the chance of its being recruited,

decamped from Fiola; and passing the Tiber at the Ponte Molle (anciently known by the name of Pons Milvius), which he had just time to break down behind him when the enemy's vanguard appeared, he crossed the mountains of Gubio, and arrived, by the way of Viterbo, in the Bolognese territory [31].

The queen of Hungary and her allies were not more successful in Germany and the Low Countries. But considering the unexpected confederacy that was formed against them, and the inferiority of their generals, they had little reason to complain of fortune. The negotiations at Frankfort being brought to an issue, a treaty was there concluded, through the influence of France. Its declared object was to restore the imperial dignity and the tranquillity of Germany; the contracting powers engaging either to persuade or oblige the queen of Hungary to acknowledge the title of Charles VII. to give up the archives of the empire, still in her possession, and evacuate Bavaria; the emperor's claims on the Austrian succession to be settled by a friendly compromise, or juridical decision. So far the confederacy seemed laudable. But, by a separate article, which breathed a very different spirit, the king of Prussia engaged to put the emperor in possession of Bohemia, and to guaranty to him Upper Austria, as soon as conquered, on condition that he should give up to his Prussian majesty the town and circle of Konigingratz, in its whole extent, with all the country situated between the frontiers of Silesia and the river Elbe, and from Konigingratz to the confines of Saxony. Frederic, however, by previous agreement, and a separate treaty with the court of Versailles, was not obliged to take arms, until he should see France act with vigour [32].

To procure the ready co-operation of this politic, ambitious, and powerful prince, Louis put himself at the head

[31] Voltaire.——Millot.——Smollet.——*Contin.* of Rapin, vol. ix.
[32] *Mem. de Noailles*, tome iv.

of his army in Flanders, consisting of a hundred and twenty thousand men, as early as the season would permit, and invested Menin. The duke de Noailles, and the celebrated count Saxe, now a mareschal of France, commanded under him, and carried every thing before them. Menin surrendered in seven days. Ypres, Fort Knocke, and Furnes, were reduced with almost equal facility. And the king entered Dunkirk in triumph, while the allied army, to the number of seventy thousand men, unable to obstruct his progress, continued posted behind the Scheld.

But Louis was soon obliged to quit this scene of conquest, and hasten to the defence of his own dominions. Having received intelligence that prince Charles of Lorrain had passed the Rhine, and entered Alsace at the head of sixty thousand men, he dispatched the duke de Noailles with forty thousand to join the mareschal de Coigni, who commanded in that province, while he himself followed with a farther reinforcement; leaving mareschal Saxe, with the remainder of his army, to oppose the allies in the Netherlands. The masterly movements of that consummate general, and the want of concert between the Austrian and English commanders, d'Aremberg and Wade, prevented them from gaining any advantage during the campaign, though now greatly superior in force.

Before the duke de Noailles could form a junction with Coigni, the prince of Lorrain had taken Weissenburg, and laid all Lower Alsace under contribution. At Metz the king of France was seized with a fever, which threatened his life, and retarded the operations of his generals. Meanwhile prince Charles, being apprised of the irruption of the Prussians into Bohemia, repassed the Rhine in sight of a superior army, and hastened to the relief of that kingdom. Louis, after his recovery, formed the siege of Freyburg; and the reduction of this important place, by the famous engineer count Lowendahl, who had entered into the French service, concluded the business of the campaign on the side of Alsace.

The king of Prussia, on taking arms, published a manifesto, in which he declared, that he could no longer remain an idle spectator of the troubles of Germany, but found himself obliged to make use of force, to restore the power of the laws, and the authority of the emperor; that he desired nothing for himself, had no particular quarrel with the queen of Hungary, and had only entered into the war as an auxiliary, in order to assert the liberties of the Germanic body; that the emperor had offered to relinquish his claims on the Austrian succession, provided his hereditary dominions should be restored to him; and that the queen of Hungary had rejected this and all other equitable proposals.

Before the arrival of prince Charles, the Prussian monarch had made himself master of Prague, Tabor, and the greater part of Bohemia. But these conquests were of short duration. The king of Poland, animated by a British subsidy, ordered sixteen thousand men to join the prince of Lorrain. He was also joined by a strong body of Hungarians, zealous in the cause of their sovereign, who had acquired by her popular manner[33], as well as her indulgences both civil and religious, an extraordinary interest in their affections; so that the king of Prussia, unable to withstand so great a force, was obliged to evacuate Bohemia, and retire with precipitation into Silesia. He was pursued thither by prince Charles; and perhaps only the rigour of the season prevented the recovery of that valuable province. The Prussians, in their retreat, lost twenty thousand men, with all their heavy bag-

33 To old count Palfy, chief Palatine of Hungary, who had, on this occasion, caused the red standard of the kingdom to be displayed, as a signal for every man who could bear arms to turn out, she wrote the following letter, accompanied with a present of her own horse, richly caparisoned, a gold-hilted sword ornamented with diamonds, and a ring of great value:

"Father Palfy!

"I send you this horse, worthy of being mounted only by the most zealous "of my faithful subjects. Receive, at the same time, this sword, to defend "me against mine enemies; and accept this ring, as a mark of my affection "for you. "MARIA-THERESA."

gage, artillery, and waggons, laden with provisions and plunder.

While the high-minded Frederic was experiencing this sudden reverse of fortune, the dejected fugitive, Charles VII. once more gained possession of his capital. Seckendorff, his general, having been joined by a body of French troops, had driven the Austrians out of Bavaria. But the retreat of the Prussians, and the rapid progress of the prince of Lorrain, filled the emperor with new apprehensions: and he was in danger of being again chased from his dominions, when death came to his relief, and freed him from a complication of bodily ills, aggravated by the anguish of a wounded spirit. His son, Maximilian Joseph, being only seventeen years of age, could not become a candidate for the imperial throne. He, therefore, wisely concluded, through the mediation of his Britannic majesty, notwithstanding all the intrigues of France, a treaty of peace with the queen of Hungary, who had again invaded Bavaria, and was ready to strip him of his whole electorate. By this treaty, Maria-Theresa agreed to recognise the imperial dignity, as having been vested in the person of Charles VII. and to put his son in complete possession of his hereditary dominions. On the other hand, the young elector renounced all claim to any part of the Austrian succession; and consented to become a guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction, to give his vote for the grand duke at the ensuing election of an emperor, and dismiss the auxiliary troops in his service [34].

1745. Jan. 20, N. S.

This treaty, it was confidently expected, would prove a prelude to a general pacification, as the cause of the war in Germany no longer existed; and the treaty of Frankfort, the avowed purpose of which was the support of the imperial dignity, had now no object. The queen of Hungary, to procure peace, and the vote of Brandenburg for her husband,

[34] *Continuation* of Rapin, vol. ix.

would readily have agreed to confirm the treaty of Breslau; and the king of Prussia, after his severe losses, could have required nothing more for himself than the undisputed possession of Silesia. But the court of France, which had commenced the war out of policy, instigated and pensioned by that of Spain, resolved to continue it from passion; and his Britannic majesty was too intimately connected with the queen of Hungary, as well as too highly interested in preserving the balance of Europe, to desert his allies at such a crisis.

The marquis d'Argenson, the French minister for war, who had at this time great influence in the cabinet, declared that France, having undertaken to give a head to the Germanic body, ought to hazard the last soldier, rather than suffer the grand duke to be elected emperor. Louis and his ministers accordingly offered the imperial crown to the king of Poland; but he, sensible that it was not in their gift, prudently refused it, unless it could be procured without violence; and renewed his engagements with the courts of London and Vienna. The French, however, persisted in their resolution of opposing the election of the grand duke, and of continuing the war with vigour in Germany and the Netherlands, to facilitate the operations of the combined forces of the house of Bourbon in Italy; where Elizabeth Farnese, who still directed all the measures of the court of Madrid, was determined, whatever might be the difficulty and hazard, to establish a sovereignty for Don Philip at the expence of Maria-Theresa[35]. And the success of the ensuing campaign seemed to justify her firmness and perseverance.

The republic of Genoa, which had been long wavering,

35 See the *Mémoires Politiques et Militaires*, drawn from the papers of the duke de Noailles, by the abbé Millot. It is not a little remarkable, that the same abbé, in his *Elemens d' Hist. Gen.*, ascribes the continuance of the war, after the death of Charles VII. to the *hatred* of the *English* against the *French nation!* He was not then favoured, it is to be presumed, with the duke's papers, which throw new light upon the subject.

at last concluded a treaty with the house of Bourbon, that proved highly injurious to the interests of the queen of Hungary and the king of Sardinia. The armies of count de Gages and Don Philip, consisting of French, Spaniards, and Neapolitans, having formed a junction in the territories of that republic, from which they received a considerable reinforcement, nearly amounted to eighty thousand men; while the Piedmontese and Austrians, under the king of Sardinia and count Schuylemberg, did not exceed forty-five thousand. There was no contending with effect against such a superiority of force.

Don Philip, and Maillebois, who acted under him on the recall of the prince of Conti from Italy, obliged his Sardinian majesty and Schuylemberg to retire beyond the Tanaro. Count de Gages invested and took Tortona, while the duke of Modena made himself master of Parma and Placentia. The city of Pavia was taken by assault, and Milan itself was forced to surrender, though the citadel continued to hold out.

Pushing his advantages, Philip passed the Tanaro, and compelled the Austrian and Piedmontese armies to take shelter behind the Po. He reduced Valenza, Casal, Asti, and even Verua, only twenty miles north-east of Turin: and the king of Sardinia was so apprehensive of the bombardment of his capital, that he posted his army within cover of its cannon, and ordered the pavement of the streets to be taken up. But Philip, instead of undertaking such an arduous enterprise, closed the campaign with a triumphant entry into Milan[36].

The house of Bourbon and its allies were no less successful in other quarters. Louis had two leading objects in view; to obstruct the election of the grand-duke, and to complete the conquest of Flanders. He accordingly assembled two great armies: one marched to the Maine, under the

[36] Voltaire.——Millot.

prince of Conti, to prevent the queen of Hungary from employing a superior force against the king of Prussia, and to over-awe the deliberations of the electors at Frankfort; the other, consisting of seventy-six thousand men, commanded by count Saxe, under whom the duke de Noailles condescended to serve as first aide-de-camp, invested Tournay, one of the strongest towns in the Austrian Netherlands, and the most important in the Dutch barrier[37]. The king and the dauphin appeared in the camp, and animated by their presence the operations of the besiegers. The allied army amounted only to fifty-three thousand men; yet with these it was resolved to attempt the relief of Tournay. The Hanoverian and British troops were commanded by the duke of Cumberland, a brave but inexperienced general. The Austrians were conducted by old count Konigseg; and the Dutch by the prince of Waldeck, as inexperienced as the duke.

Mareschal Saxe, who to a natural genius for war joined a profound knowledge of the military art, was no sooner informed of the purpose of the confederates, than he made masterly dispositions for receiving them. The French army was posted on a rising ground, with the village of Antoine on its right, the wood of Barri on its left, and Fontenoy in front. In the wood, and at both the villages, were erected formidable batteries of heavy cannon; and the intermediate space was farther defended by strong redoubts. The confederates, however, who had but imperfectly reconnoitred the situation of the enemy, rashly persisted in their resolution of hazarding an attack. Nor were the French without their apprehensions of its consequences, from the known valour of the British troops. The bridge of Colonne, over which the king had passed the Escaut, was accordingly fortified

[37] The sovereignty of the barrier-towns belonged to the house of Austria; but they were garrisoned with Dutch troops, for the support of which the states were permitted, by the treaty of Utrecht, to tax the inhabitants.

with entrenchments, and occupied by a stout body of reserve, in order to secure his retreat, if it should be necessary. And to this necessity he must have been driven, had the British troops been properly supported, and the orders of the duke of Cumberland duly executed.

The allies were in motion by two o'clock in the morning, and the cannonading began as soon as it was light. By nine, both armies were engaged, and the action lasted till three in the afternoon. Never, perhaps, was a more desperate or gallant attack than that which was made by the British infantry, commanded by the duke in person, assisted by sir John Ligonier. Though the fire from the enemy's batteries was so heavy, that it swept off whole ranks at a single discharge, they continued to advance, as if they had been invulnerable, and drove the French infantry beyond their lines. The French cavalry in vain endeavoured to stop their progress. Forming themselves into a column, they bore down every thing before them, and baffled every effort to put them into disorder. Antoine was evacuated; and mareschal Saxe, concluding that all was lost, sent advice to the king to provide for his safety, by repassing the bridge of Colonne. But Louis, who did not want personal courage, sensible that such a step would give a decided victory to the allies, refused to quit his post. His firmness saved his army from ruin and disgrace [38].

April 30.

Ashamed to desert their sovereign, the French infantry returned to the charge; the cavalry renewed their efforts; and other circumstances contributed to give a turn to the battle. The Dutch, having failed in an attack upon Fontenoy, which valour might have rendered successful, had shamefully left the field. An English and Hanoverian detachment, under brigadier Ingoldsby, had also miscarried, through mistake, in a practicable attempt to take possession of the redoubt at a corner of the wood of Barri, and imme-

38 Voltaire, *Siecle de Louis* XV. chap. xv.

diately opposite Fontenoy; so that the British cavalry, by the cross-fire of the enemy's cannon, were prevented from coming up to the support of the infantry; who, now assailed on all sides, fatigued with incessant firing, and galled by some field-pieces unexpectedly planted in front, were at length obliged to retire, with the loss of ten thousand men, after having suscessively routed almost every regiment in the French army [39]. The loss of the Hanoverians, who behaved gallantly, was also very great, in proportion to their numbers, but that of the Dutch and Austrians proved inconsiderable.

The French had near ten thousand men killed or wounded, and among these were many persons of distinction; yet was their joy at their good fortune remarkably high. Their exultation in the hour of triumph, seemed to bear a proportion to their recent danger of a defeat. The princes of the blood embraced each other on the field of battle, and dissolved in tears of mutual congratulation. They had, indeed, reason to be satisfied with their victory, which was followed by very important consequences. For, although the duke of Cumberland had led off his troops in good order, and without losing either colours or standards, the allies were unable, during the remainder of the campaign, to face the enemy; but lay entrenched, between Antwerp and

39 "All the regiments," says Voltaire, who is very circumstantial in his account of this battle, "presented themselves, one after another; and the "English column, facing them on all sides, repulsed every regiment that "advanced." (*Siecle de Louis* XV. chap. xv.) "From the moment the "French and Swiss guards were routed," adds he, "there was nothing but "astonishment and confusion throughout the French army. Mareschal "Saxe ordered the cavalry to fall upon the English column; but their efforts "were attended with little effect against a body of infantry so united, so "disciplined, and so intrepid." "If the Dutch," continues he, "had "passed the redoubts that lay between Fontenoy and Antoine, and had "given proper assistance to the English, no resource would have been "left for the French; perhaps, not even a retreat for the king and the "dauphin."

Brussels; while mareschal Saxe and count Lowendahl reduced, by stratagem or force, Tournay, Oudenarde, Aeth, Dendermond, Ghent, Ostend, and several other considerable towns in the Netherlands.

But the king of France, though so highly favoured by fortune, was not able to prevent the queen of Hungary from obtaining the great object of her wishes, in the elevation of her husband to the imperial throne. The French army on the Maine not being able to cope with the Austrians under Bathiani, the electors assembled in perfect security at Frankfort, and raised to the head of the empire the grand duke of Tuscany, under the name of Francis I. Meanwhile the king of Prussia gained two bloody victories over the prince of Lorrain; one near Friedberg on the confines of Silesia, the other at Slandentz, in Bohemia. Not satisfied with these advantages, though he had entered into a pacific convention with his Britannic majesty at Hanover, he invaded Saxony, and made himself master of Dresden.

The king of Poland now found himself under the necessity of suing for peace; and the Prussian hero condescended to grant it. A treaty was concluded at Dresden, in December; by which the former prince, in his electoral capacity, agreed to pay to Frederic, for the evacuation of his hereditary dominions, one million of German crowns at the next fair of Leipsic. Another treaty, confirming that of Breslau, was adjusted between the Prussian monarch and the queen of Hungary. This agreement secured to the king the possession of Silesia, on condition of his acknowledging the validity of the emperor's election. The elector Palatine, who was included in the latter treaty, consented to make the same acknowledgment [40].

These treaties restored tranquillity to Germany. But war, as we shall have occasion to see, continued to rage for some years longer, between the houses of Bourbon and

40 Tindal's *Contin.* vol. ix.——Smollet, vol. xi.

Austria. In the mean time, my dear Philip, we must attend to some transactions that more immediately concern our own island.

LETTER XXIX.

Sketch of the Domestic History of Great Britain, including some foreign Affairs intimately connected with it, from the Resignation of Sir Robert Walpole, in 1742, *to the Extinction of the Rebellion in Scotland, in* 1746.

FROM the accession of the house of Hanover to the crown of Great Britain, but more especially after the suppression of the rebellion in 1715, it had been the constant aim of the Tories, the natural friends of monarchy, and of some disappointed Whigs who joined them and assumed the imposing name of patriots, to obstruct all the measures of government, under pretence of the public good; to represent the essential interests of the nation as sacrificed to a pusillanimous policy, which tamely courted peace, while the treasure of the kingdom was prodigally wasted in German subsidies, more than adequate to the support of a vigorous war, and its honour basely bartered for the precarious security of mercenary alliances, or treaties purchased by mean submissions. "And for what?" said the Jacobites, when they durst speak out, and most of the Tories were Jacobites:—"to maintain a foreign family upon the throne, in "exclusion of the lineal heir!"—Such, and more contumelious, was the language of opposition in parliament, and of the pretended patriots in their private meetings, during the

whole administration of sir Robert Walpole [1], who understood and pursued the true interests of his country, but, perhaps, without sufficiently attending to its honour.

On the resignation of this able statesman, the pretended patriots were called into office ; and the greatest reformation was expected in every department of government. Lord Carteret and his associates, however, not only rejected every popular motion, but went even farther, as we have already seen, than their predecessors, in flattering the predilection of their sovereign for the continental system. Large subsidies were at the same time paid to the queen of Hungary, the king of Poland, and the king of Sardinia ; large bodies of foreign troops were taken into British pay ; and a British army was transported into Flanders, to fight battles from which Great Britain could derive no positive advantage. The war was continued from pride and passion, long after its political object, as far as it concerned this kingdom, was accomplished ; namely, the prevention of the French from acquiring an ascendant in Germany, by dismembering the Austrian succession. A.D. 1742.

Naturally haughty, elate with success, and assured of the support of the British ministry, the queen of Hungary, in the hour of her intoxication, absolutely refused to restore to Charles VII. his hereditary dominions, though he offered, on that condition, to renounce all claim to any part of her inheritance [2]. Not content with being enabled to defend her own territories, she projected conquests both in Italy and Germany. She was eagerly A. D. 1743.

[1] See the *Parliamentary Debates*, and publications of the times.

[2] A treaty to this purpose was negotiated at Hanau, in order to preserve appearances, soon after the battle of Dettingen, through the mediation of his Britannic majesty. But it was rendered abortive, by a *secret understanding*, or intrigue, between the courts of London and Vienna ; in consequence of which the British ministry, or rather the regency appointed during the king's absence, refused to ratify the preliminaries to which their sovereign had seemingly given his assent.

desirous of the recovery of Naples and Silesia, though both had been formally ceded by treaty; and the king of Great Britain, instead of withdrawing his assistance from her at this juncture, or insisting on her reconciliation with the emperor, was so ill advised as to acquiesce in her ambitious aims.

The dissatisfaction occasioned by these unpopular and impolitic measures encouraged the Jacobites to turn their eyes once more toward the pretender, and the court of France (as we have seen) to attempt an invasion in his favour. Had the French been able to land, under so consummate a general as count Saxe, it is impossible to say what might have been the consequence; but we may affirm with confidence, that, as the enterprise proved abortive, it was of great service to the reigning family, by uniting all the Whigs in the zealous support of government.

A. D. 1744.

Loyal addresses were presented to the throne by both houses of parliament, and from the principal towns and corporations in the kingdom. The duke of Marlborough and the earl of Stair, though disgusted with the court, tendered their service to his majesty, in any station he should think proper to name. They were immediately taken into favour; and the earl of Stair was appointed commander in chief of the forces in South Britain. The duke of Argyle, who had long distinguished himself by his opposition in parliament, communicated to the privy council the letter which he had received from the chevalier de St. George, containing the most liberal promises, in case of his elevation to the throne. People of every condition, indeed, who had any regard for civil or religious liberty, seemed to unite in opposition to the cause of the pretender; and all former grievances were forgotten at such an alarming crisis.

Various causes of national discontent, however, still remained; all which were magnified, and industriously pointed out by the Jacobites, in order to embarrass the British mi-

nistry, and to induce the king of France to make a new effort for the re-establishment of the family of Stuart. The inglorious sea-fight off Toulon, and the infamous trial of Matthews and Lestock, excited the indignation of all sincere lovers of justice and of their country. And other circumstances contributed to revive the popular clamour against the measures of the court.

The king of Prussia, on renewing hostilities in consequence of the treaty of Frankfort, beside the manifesto which he published, accusing the queen of Hungary of ambition and obstinacy (in rejecting the reasonable offers of the emperor), and his Britannic majesty of fostering that haughty spirit, sent a rescript to his minister at the court of London, very artfully drawn up, and admirably suited to the temper of the times. "I hope," says he, "that no judicious English-" man, nor any Briton, zealous for the constitution of his " country, can mistake the equity of my resolution, as he " may at once convince himself of it, by merely transport-" ing to the theatre of England what now passes on that of " Germany. For, as every true English patriot would " look with indignation upon all such intrigues as should be " carried on in his country, in order to dethrone the reign-" ing family, and place the crown upon the head of the " pretender, and would oppose such practices to the ut-" most of his power; in like manner, there is no patriotic " or powerful prince of the empire, that can see with in-" difference, and coolly suffer another member of the em-" pire, such as the queen of Hungary, to attempt to de-" spoil of his dignity and authority the emperor lawfully " elected, in order to invest with the imperial ensigns a " candidate destitute of the qualifications most essential " to fill that august throne. In consequence of the same " principle," adds he, "as no German prince has a right " to meddle with the internal policy of Great Britain, or " with the constitution of its government, I have some " grounds to hope, that the English nation will not inter-

"fere with the domestic affairs of the empire; and I enter-
"tain those hopes the more firmly, because England can
"have no inducement to take part in this quarrel from any
"*commercial* or *political considerations*[3]."

Though this extraordinary address, to subjects instead of their sovereign, did not meet with such general approbation as its royal author expected, it was not without its effect: and the shameful languor of the campaign in Flanders made the English nation fully sensible of the folly of engaging in foreign quarrels. The credit of the ministry was at the lowest ebb: their conduct was arraigned by men of all parties; and they had little family influence. The king therefore resolved, in compliance with the sense of his people, as well as for his own ease, to choose a new administration, though not to change his political system; the indignation of the public being chiefly directed against those political apostates, who, after having hunted down sir Robert Walpole as an enemy to the constitution and a betrayer of the interests of his country, had themselves pursued more exceptionable measures, without taking one popular step.

At the head of the new ministry stood Mr. Henry Pelham—already first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer—and his brother, the duke of Newcastle, who had been for some years one of the principal secretaries of state. They possessed great parliamentary interest; and, in order to acquire popularity, as well as to increase their strength, they formed a coalition with the *real patriots*, or those leading members in both houses, who had continued to oppose the measures of the court during the late administration, on finding that they were not more judicious than those of the former, or because they thought their merit had been neglected in the disposal of offices, after the resignation of sir Robert Walpole. To that coalition was

3 *Annals of Europe.*

given the name of the BROAD BOTTOM, as comprehending honest and able men of all parties. Conformably to this idea, the earl of Harrington was appointed to succeed earl Granville (formerly lord Carteret), as secretary of state; the duke of Bedford was made first commissioner of the admiralty; the earl of Chesterfield, lord lieutenant of Ireland; Mr. George Lyttelton, afterward lord Lyttelton, one of the commissioners of the treasury; Mr. Dodington, treasurer of the navy; and sir John Hinde Cotton, treasurer of the chamber.

The wide basis on which Mr. Pelham had founded his administration, left little room for parliamentary opposition; and faction, though secrètly plotting new changes, seemed for a season to be lulled asleep. Very liberal supplies were voted for prosecuting the war on the continent: vigorous measures were resolved upon, as the most likely means of bringing it to a speedy conclusion; and the duke of Cumberland was appointed commander in chief, in order to carry those measures into execution. A.D. 1745.

The earl of Chesterfield was dispatched to the Hague, in the character of ambassador extraordinary, with a view of persuading the Dutch to become principals in the war, or at least to engage them to settle, and furnish with exactness, their quota of troops and subsidies. He succeeded in the latter point; and the most sanguine hopes were entertained of success.

But those hopes were blasted by the battle of Fontenoy. Fresh discontents arose: the machinations of the Jacobites were renewed; and the king of France, whose great object was the conquest of Flanders, in order to procure the recall of the British troops from that country, encouraged the young pretender, by flattering promises and delusive insinuations, to attempt a descent in the North of Scotland. False representations were made to him by some Irish and Scottish adventurers, who, having nothing to lose, were ready for any desperate enterprise, and probably bribed by

the court of Versailles to cajole him into a compliance with its views. They affirmed, that the whole British nation was disaffected to the reigning family; that the body of the people, loaded with oppressive taxes, and longing for relief, would every where crowd to his standard as soon as it should be erected; that the regular troops in the kingdom were few; and that, being assured of a powerful support from France, he could not doubt of being able to recover the crown of his ancestors.

Charles, who was naturally warm and confident, encouraged by these intoxicating representations, embarked at Port Lazare, in Bretagne, on board an armed vessel, which his father had found interest to equip, attended by the marquis of Tullibardine, sir Thomas Sheridan, and other friends, with nine hundred stand of arms. The Elizabeth, a French ship of sixty-four guns, laden with arms and ammunition, was appointed him as a convoy: but, falling in with the Lion, an English ship of fifty-eight guns, she was obliged, after an obstinate and bloody engagement, to return to Brest in a shattered condition. Charles, however, pursued his voyage, and landed on the coast of Lochaber. He was there joined by Cameron of Lochiel, and some other Highland chiefs, who, though they did not approve his rash and ill-concerted undertaking, thought themselves bound in honour to assert the rights of a prince whose cause was dear to them, and who had thrown himself upon their generosity [4].

July 16.

The naked and defenceless condition of the pretender was too evident to escape the observation of the least intelligent of his partisans. But this objection was artfully set aside by the address of his followers. His deficiency in arms and ammunition, it was said, might be accounted for from the unforeseen misfortune that had befallen his convoy; and his coming without foreign force was adduced as

[4] *Contin. of* Rapin.

a proof of his superior discernment, as well as of his confidence in the affection of his friends. It was ingeniously urged, that the inveterate animosity of the English against the French nation had been the chief cause of the failure of all the attempts of the latter to re-establish the family of Stuart on the throne of Great Britain; that a perpetual jealousy of the influence of this rival nation, always connected with the idea of popery and arbitrary power, could alone have induced a great and generous people so long to submit to the dominion of a foreign family, in exclusion of their hereditary princes; that those bug-bears being chased away by the magnanimity and heroism of the youthful Charles, he had only to march southward at the head of his faithful clans, in order to be joined by multitudes of his father's loyal subjects, who longed for an opportunity of renewing their allegiance; and that, should any foreign power interpose in behalf of the house of Hanover, or the British troops be recalled from Flanders, a superior French army would be landed, to complete the glorious revolution.

These plausible arguments, recommended by a magnificent ſide-board of plate, and a large sum in ready money, which to the frugal Highlanders seemed a royal treasure, were so well received, that Charles soon found himself at the head of some thousands of hardy mountaineers, who, filled with hereditary attachment to his family, and warmly devoted to his person, in consequence of his open and engaging manners, as well as of his having assumed the ancient military dress of their country (which added new grace to his tall and handsome figure, at the same time that it borrowed dignity from his princely air), were ready to shed the last drop of their blood in his cause.

But this ardour to rise in arms was confined to the heads of a few clans; and these, namely, Lochiel, Glenco, Glengary, Keppock, Clanronald, and some other chiefs, though distinguished by their valour, were by no means the most

considerable for their numbers. The heads of many of those clans which had formed the grand support of the pretender's claim in 1715, had been allured by political interest to the side of government, or convinced, by cool reflexion, of the expediency of submission, although they were, from principle, still attached to the house of Stuart.

The eldest son of the attainted earl of Seaforth, the head of the Mackenzies, was a member of the house of commons, as was also the head of the Macleods. The chief of the Macdonalds, the most numerous of the Jacobite clans, had declared against an insurrection. The representative of the noble and powerful family of Gordon, whose retainers made a principal figure in the former rebellion, had now become a protestant, and was under great obligations to government; and lord Lovat, the head of the Frasers, besides his utter want of principle, was backward in declaring himself. Nor was this all. The duke of Argyle's Highlanders, the earl of Sutherland's men, the Monros, and several other protestant clans, seemed sincerely attached to the reigning family, as were all the inhabitants of the low country of Scotland, a few catholic and nonjuring families excepted [5]. This point, perhaps, is not sufficiently understood.

The people of the low country of Scotland are chiefly presbyterians, and jealous of their civil and religious rights. That jealousy led them, as we have seen, to take arms against Charles I. before a sword was drawn in England. By neglecting to bargain for the free exercise of their religion at the Restoration, they were unfortunately exposed, un-

5 *Contin.* of Rapin, vol. ix. written, as already noticed, by the laborious and intelligent Guthrie, whose account of the rebellion in Scotland is very full, circumstantial, and accurate. The author of these Letters was then a boy, by no means incapable of memory; and he has since had occasion to converse with many persons deeply engaged in that rebellion, as well as with many employed in suppressing it. He therefore considers himself as a contemporary. This observation he means should extend to the whole subsequent part of his narration.

der the sway of Charles II., to a renewal of persecution. But at the Revolution they took care to secure both their civil and religious liberties, which were farther secured by the Union. They have, therefore, on all occasions, firmly adhered to the protestant succession. At this crisis, they were terrified at the idea of the pretender and of the Highlanders, whose cruel depredations under the marquis of Montrose, the viscount Dundee, and the earl of Mar, were still fresh in their memory. They were the most loyal subjects of the house of Hanover in Great Britain. But they had long been disused to arms; and were therefore filled with melancholy apprehensions at the threatening danger. The disasters in Flanders, the rapid progress of the French power, and the defenceless state of their own country, all pressed upon their minds.

The news of a fortunate event in America contributed in some degree to remove this despondency; namely, the conquest of Cape Breton.

That island, of which the French were shamefully left in possession at the peace of Utrecht, through the negligence or corruption of the English ministry, when Great Britain had the power of giving law to her enemies, is situated at the entrance of the Gulph of St. Laurence, and is about ninety miles in length, and sixty at its greatest breadth. Newfoundland, which lies to the east, is but twenty leagues distant; and Nova Scotia, to the west, is separated from it only by a channel about fifteen miles broad. Thus placed between the territories of France, and those ceded to her rival, Cape Breton menaced the possessions of the one, while it protected those of the other. Louisbourg, situated on the south-eastern coast, was the chief town and port in the island. The harbour, naturally safe and capacious, was well-fortified; the narrow entrance being guarded by two formidable batteries, whose cross-fire threatened instant destruction to any ship that should attempt to force a passage. The town was walled, and defended by all the works that are

calculated to render a place impregnable. It was the key of communication between France and Canada, as well as the great bulwark of her fisheries. And it was considered by the English colonies as the Dunkirk of America, because it afforded protection to a swarm of French frigates and privateers, that ruined their trade, and pillaged them with impunity.

Influenced by these considerations, the British ministry were induced to listen to the proposals of the people of New England, who offered to undertake the reduction of Louisbourg. Commodore Warren, then stationed at Antigua, was ordered to proceed to the northward, with a stout squadron, in order to protect the transports, and co-operate with the colonial troops, who, under the conduct of Mr. Pepperel, a trader of Piscataqua, landed without opposition within four miles of the place. The besiegers, though inexperienced, were brave : the officers of the marines directed their operations ; and Warren, though foiled in every attempt to enter the harbour, was able effectually to cut off all supplies. Seeing no prospect of relief, and threatened with a general assault, the governor, doubtful of the fidelity of his garrison, agreed to surrender the town ;

Jun 16. and the whole island of Cape Breton, or (as the French pompously called it) *l'Isle Royale*, immediately submitted to the victors [6].

This conquest, the importance of which was highly exaggerated, contributed to confirm the zeal of the friends to the protestant succession in Scotland ; and, if vigorous measures had been taken by government, the rebellion might have been crushed in its birth. But the king being then at Hanover, the regency slighted every information relative to the enterprise of the young pretender, until all North Britain was threatened with subjection. They could not believe that he would have the boldness to land without

[6] *Contin.* of Rapin, vol. ix.——Douglas's *Summary*, vol. ii.——Smollet, vol. xi.

a powerful foreign force; so that even his weakness, under the veil of his temerity, may be said to have advanced his progress. Descending from the mountains with the rapidity of a torrent, at the head of his hardy and intrepid Highlanders, he took possession of Dunkeld, Perth, and Dundee; every where proclaiming his father, the chevalier de St. George, king of Great Britain, and seizing the public money for his use. At Perth he reviewed his forces, and found them amount to about three thousand men. Here he was joined by the viscount Strathallan, lord Nairn, lord George Murray, brother to the duke of Athol, by the young and sanguine duke of Perth [7], and several other persons of distinction. And the marquis of Tullibardine having taken possession of the estate of Athol, which his younger brother inherited, as well as the title, in consequence of *his* attainder, was able to bring some accession of strength to the cause which he had espoused.

Emboldened by these promising appearances, the young pretender proceeded to Dumblane: and having crossed the Forth in the neighbourhood of Stirling, he advanced towards Edinburgh, after making a feint of marching to Glasgow. Meanwhile sir John Cope, commander in chief of the king's forces in Scotland, afraid to face the rebels, marched northward as far as Inverness, under pretence of forming a junction with some loyal clans; leaving, by that movement, the capital and the whole low country at the mercy of the enemy.

The inhabitants of Edinburgh seemed at first determined on a bold resistance; but, on the nearer approach of the re-

7 The head of this nobleman's family, which was strongly attached to the house of Stuart, having accompanied James II. into France, was there created a duke. He had been educated in that kingdom; and succeeding unexpectedly to the family estate, he had lately come over to Great Britain. On his arrival, he flew with ardour into all the gaieties of the age, and adapted himself to every mode of pleasure, which he pursued with the appearance of giddy dissipation, while forming the plan of an extensive rebellion. He was the soul of the Jacobite party.

bels, their resolution began to fail. They were apprehensive of a general pillage, and even of a massacre, if the place should be carried by assault, against which its ruinous and extensive walls were but a slender security. The magistrates, therefore, began to treat with Charles for the surrender of the town. But, before the terms were finally settled, a body of Highlanders, being treacherously admitted at one of the gates in the night, took possession of the city guard-house; and opening the other gates to new associates, made themselves masters of that ancient capital by morning. The castle, however, still held out. And thither had been carried, on the approach of the rebels, the treasure of the two Scottish banks, and the most valuable effects of the inhabitants.

To avoid the fire from the castle, which, being seated on a rock to the westward of the town, commands the whole neighbourhood, Charles made a circuit to the east, and took up his residence in Holyrood-house, the royal mansion of his ancestors. Here he kept a kind of court: and being attended by a number of noblemen and gentlemen, who acted as officers of state, he issued an order with all the formality of lawful authority, for solemnly proclaiming his father at the cross of Edinburgh. The ceremony was accordingly performed; and, at the same time, three manifestos were read by the pursuivants. In the first manifesto, the old pretender asserted his right to the crown of Scotland, declaimed against the Union, lamented the hardships to which the Scots had been exposed in consequence of it, and complained bitterly of the injuries which his faithful Highlanders had suffered from the established government. He promised to call a free parliament, to abolish the malt-duty, and all other grievous burthens imposed on them since the Union; to restore the Scottish nation to its ancient liberty and independence; to protect, secure, and maintain all his protestant subjects in the free exercise of their religion, and in the full enjoyment of their rights, privileges, and immunities. By

the second manifesto, he constituted his son regent of the kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland, during his absence. The third manifesto was in the name of the young pretender; and Charles, after enforcing all that had been said in his father's first declaration, commanded obedience to himself as prince regent[8].

In the mean time general Cope, being joined by some well-affected Highlanders, had embarked his troops at Aberdeen and landed at Dunbar, where he was reinforced with two regiments of dragoons, that had retired from Edinburgh on the approach of the enemy. Confident of success, he began his march toward the capital, with a well-appointed army; and understanding that the rebels were advancing to give him battle, he pitched his camp near Preston-pans, having the village of Tranent in his front and the sea in his rear. His troops, consisting of about three thousand men, lay all night on their arms; and, early in the morning, the young pretender advanced in hostile array, at the head of three thousand undisciplined and half-armed Highlanders, whose furious gestures and rapid movements, seen dimly through the retiring darkness, excited unusual emotions of terror in the hearts of the English soldiers. These emotions were not allowed to subside. Charles himself, standing in the first line, gave the word of command; and drawing his sword, threw away the scabbard. The Highlanders rushed on to the attack like sturdy savages, regardless of the fire of the artillery. The dragoons instantly left the field, and could not be rallied; and a total rout of the king's troops quickly ensued. Five hundred of the infantry were killed, and a thousand were made prisoners. Among the former was the gallant colonel Gardiner, who fell covered with wounds. Never, in a word, was any victory more complete: the military chest, cannon, colours,

Sept. 21.

8 *Contin.* of Rapin, vol. ix. and the Periodical Publications of the Times.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI

camp-equipage, and baggage of the royal army, fell into the hands of the rebels [9].

Had the pretender marched into England immediately after this victory, before the British troops were recalled from Flanders, or any foreign succours could be procured, he would probably have accomplished the great object of his enterprise. But, instead of taking advantage of the consternation occasioned by the defeat of the king's forces in Scotland, he returned to Holyrood-house, to enjoy the vain parade of royalty. Edinburgh proved the Capua of Charles. There, intoxicated with the flatteries of needy expectants, and seduced by the blandishments of the Jacobite ladies, longing for his princely benediction, he wantonly wasted his time, till the critical moment was past; while his hungry followers blunted the edge of their ferocity in social indulgences, or broke the nerve of their courage in fruitless efforts to reduce the castle, and gain possession of the public treasure.

Being at length joined by the earl of Kilmarnock, and by the lords Balmerino, Pitsligo, Elcho, and Ogilvie, Charles resolved to march into England. He now published a new manifesto, said to be composed by himself; in which he promised, in his father's name, all manner of security to the protestant religion and the established church, and declared that he would pass any law which the parliament should judge necessary for that purpose. "That the public "debt has been contracted under an *unlawful government*, "nobody," says he, "can disown, any more than that it is "now a most *heavy load* upon the *nation*: yet, in regard "it is due to those very subjects whom our Royal Father "promises to protect, cherish, and defend, he is resolved "to take the advice of his parliament concerning it; in "which he thinks he acts the part of a just prince, who

9 *Contin.* of Rapin, vol. ix. and the Periodical Publications of the Times.

"makes the good of his people the sole rule of his actions. "Furthermore, we have in his name to declare, that the "same rule laid down for the funds, shall be followed with "respect to every law or act of parliament since the Revo-"lution; and so far as, in a free and legal parliament, they "shall be approved, he will confirm them." He next declares, that his expedition was undertaken without assistance either from France or Spain; "but," adds he, "when I "hear of Dutch, Danes, Hessians, and Swiss, the elector "of Hanover's allies, being called over to protect his go-"vernment, is it not high time for the king my father to ac-"cept also of the assistance of those who are able, and who "have engaged to support him [10]?"

This declaration had by no means the desired effect. It did not effectually remove the fears of the moneyed men, in regard to the security of the funds, while it filled the body of the people with apprehensions of a French invasion. Almost every one, from some motive or other, seemed attached to the established government. Loyal addresses, from all quarters, were presented to the king, on his return from his German dominions, congratulating him on the reduction of Cape Breton, and expressing detestation at the unnatural rebellion.

Nor were these addresses merely complimentary. Above a thousand of the most eminent merchants, tradesmen, and manufacturers in the kingdom, in order to support public credit, signed an agreement, that they would take the notes of the bank of England in payment of any sum due to them, and use their utmost endeavours to make all their payments in the same paper [11]. This was a step of great importance, as it not only prevented the danger of a run upon the bank, but interested many in the defence of the house of Hanover, whose hearts were with the pretender, or whose minds were wavering.

[10] *Contin.* of Rapin, vol. ix. [11] Id. ibid.

Other measures conspired to fix the unsteady, and to warm into zeal timid or prudential loyalty. The *habeas-corpus* act was suspended, and several persons were taken into custody on suspicion of treasonable practices. Six thousand Dutch auxiliaries were landed; and the flower of the British troops, recalled from Flanders, arrived in England, with the duke of Cumberland at their head. Beside many new regiments, voluntarily raised by the nobility and gentry, the militia of every county were assembled; arms were liberally distributed to the people, and the whole southern part of the kingdom was put in a posture of defence.

Notwithstanding this hostile appearance, and the formidable force that was now collected, the young adventurer left Edinburgh, and entered England, by the western border, with only six thousand men; the duke of Perth acting as commander in chief, and lord George Murray as lieutenant-general. They immediately invested Carlisle; and both the town and castle, though defended by the militia of Cumberland and Westmoreland, supported by the inhabitants and some companies of regular troops, surrendered within three days.

Nov. 6.

The whole kingdom was filled with consternation at the progress of the rebels; and the most alarming apprehensions were, at the same time, entertained of an invasion from France, as great preparations for a descent in favour of the pretender were carried on in some of the ports of that kingdom. But the vigilance of admiral Vernon, who was stationed with a fleet in the Channel, and effectually blocked up the hostile ports, prevented the projected invasion. The embarkation was to have been made at Boulogne, Calais, and Dunkirk, in large boats, and a landing attempted in the neighbourhood of Dover, under the cover of night. The troops were to have been commanded by the attainted earl mareschal of Scotland, who, regardless himself of danger, in what he esteemed so good a cause, threw up his com-

mission in disgust, on finding the French naval officers afraid to venture out [12].

Meanwhile the rebels, having left a small garrison in Carlisle, advanced to Penrith; and continuing their route through Lancaster and Preston, took possession of Manchester, where the pretender established his head-quarters. Thinking himself now in the heart of his English interest, he promised himself a great accession of force: but although the inhabitants of Manchester received him with marks of affection, and celebrated his arrival with illuminations, they shewed little inclination to join him, and the people of the country still less. He was only able to raise about two hundred men, headed by Townley, a catholic gentleman of some eminence in that neighbourhood, who had served in the French army.

Charles, who had been led to suppose, that as soon as he should enter Lancashire the majority of the people would flock to his standard, was deeply chagrined at this backwardness in his reputed friends. He endeavoured, however, to conceal his disappointment; and his followers in general affected to be in good spirits, though they knew that general Wade, who had assembled an army of fourteen thousand men at Newcastle, was advancing through Yorkshire, and that the duke of Cumberland had taken post near Litchfield with thirteen thousand veterans. A council of war was called; and it was resolved to proceed by the way of Liverpool and Chester into Wales, where the pretender expected a number of adherents. But learning afterward that those two towns were secured, and that the bridges over the Mersey had been broken down, Charles took the route of Stockport; and passing through Macclesfield and Congleton, turned suddenly off by Leek and Ashbourne, and unexpectedly entered Derby. There his father was proclaimed with great solemnity.

[12] *Contin.* of Rapin, vol. ix.

Having gained, by this rapid movement, a day's march of the duke's army, the pretender, who was now within a hundred and twenty-five miles of London, might have made himself master of the capital, had he proceeded directly forward. And, in that event, the French would probably have been encouraged to attempt a descent in his favour; while many well-wishers, who still kept at a distance, would certainly have joined him, and public credit would have received a terrible shock. Yet we must not rashly suppose that Charles would have been finally successful, had he even gained possession of the metropolis, as an army of thirty thousand men, firmly attached to the reigning family, could have been collected in the neighbourhood in a few days, in order to watch the motions of the rebels, and cut off the communication between the town and country; and a powerful fleet would have obstructed all supplies by sea.

The rebels must even have hazarded an engagement, before they could have entered the capital; for, as soon as it was known, that, having eluded the vigilance of the duke of Cumberland, they had it in their power to march southward, orders were given for forming a camp upon Finchley-common, where the king resolved to take the field in person; and all the regular troops in the neighbourhood of London, the new regiments, the volunteer companies, and the militia, were commanded to hold themselves in readiness for the same service. Little resistance, however, could have been made by men enervated by the sedentary arts, nursed in the bosom of a voluptuous city, and but slightly acquainted with the use of arms; whose imagination was filled with the most frightful ideas of the savage ferocity, bodily strength, and irresistible valour of the Highlanders; while they were apprehensive, on the other hand, of being overwhelmed by a French invasion, or massacred by an insurrection of the catholics. They must have been broken at the first encounter; and George II., though a gallant

warrior, might have sunk beneath the arm of his youthful antagonist.

Happily things did not come to this extremity. The pretender had advanced into the heart of England without receiving any considerable accession of force, or being joined by any person of distinction. It appeared as if all the Jacobites in the kingdom had been annihilated. The Welsh took no measures for exciting an insurrection in his favour, nor did the French attempt an invasion for his support. He lay, with a very small force, between two powerful armies, in the midst of winter, and in a country hostile to him. Having inconsiderately spent some time at Derby, he could not now enter the metropolis without hazarding a battle with one of those armies; and a defeat must have proved fatal to himself and all his adherents. It was therefore resolved in a council of war, by the majority of the Highland chiefs, to march back into Scotland, where his affairs had taken a fortunate turn; although he himself, the duke of Perth, and Cameron of Lochiel, were for proceeding to London, be the event what it might. And they perhaps were in the right; especially as they were under the necessity of making a retreat in the face of two superior armies; a retreat which, it was to be feared, beside the danger attending it, would utterly ruin their cause in England, and greatly dispirit their friends in Scotland. A retreat, however, was attempted; and it was conducted with a degree of intrepidity, regularity, expedition, and address, unparalleled in the history of nations, by any body of men under circumstances equally adverse [13]. Dec. 6.

On the third day after the rebels left Derby, they arrived at Manchester, and thence proceeded to Preston, without the loss of a single man; though the bridges were broken down, the roads damaged, the beacons lighted to alarm the country, and detachments of horse sent from both the royal

[13] *Contin.* of Rapin, vol. ix.——Smollet, vol. xi.

armies to harass them on their march. They were overtaken, however, at Clifton near Penrith, by the duke of Cumberland at the head of his cavalry. Lord George Murray, who commanded their rear-guard, composed of the clan of the Macphersons, the most ferocious of the Highland tribes, threw himself into the village, in order to obstruct the pursuit; and perceiving that the royal army consisted only of cavalry (for which, instead of their former terror, the Highlanders had acquired a contempt, since the battle of Preston-pans), he sent an express after the main body of the rebels, entreating them to return, and hazard an engagement. No regard was paid to his message; yet he resolved to maintain his post. He accordingly put himself in a posture of defence; repelled a party of horse; combated for an hour a body of dismounted dragoons; and then, having succeeded in his object, prosecuted his *route* unmolested to the rendezvous of the pretender at Penrith.

On the arrival of lord George Murray, it was deliberated by the rebel chiefs, whether they should prosecute their march, or turn back and give battle to the duke of Cumberland, before he could be joined by his infantry. But it appearing upon enquiry, that such a junction might be soon formed, and without their knowledge, they continued their retreat to Carlisle. There they drew up their forces, and seemed determined to wait the approach of their pursuers. Understanding, however, that the duke's army had been reinforced by several battalions of foot and a squadron of horse from Wade's division, they changed their resolution; and having augmented the garrison of Carlisle, by throwing into the place the Manchester volunteers, they crossed the river Eden, and retired into Scotland, without losing above fifty men, during their whole expedition, by sickness, fatigue, or the sword of the enemy, or leaving one straggler behind them [14].

[14] *Contin.* of Rapin, vol. ix.

After the action at Clifton, the duke found it necessary to halt, and give his troops, which had been roughly handled, some respite. He was there joined by his infantry: and his whole army advanced to Carlisle in three columns. The garrison, though ill supplied with engineers, made a shew of resistance; but, when the batteries were opened against the place, the rebels found themselves under the necessity of surrendering at discretion. The prisoners, amounting to about four hundred, were committed to close confinement; and the duke returned to London, where he was received with as much *éclat* as if he had gained a complete victory, the public being inclined to believe that the rebellion was extinguished.

This, however, was by no means the case. The pretender's force was yet unbroken; and if the failure of his expedition into England had discouraged some of his more sanguine followers, his rapid progress and gallant retreat had shed new lustre over his arms. The English Jacobites, whom fear alone had withheld from joining him, thinking every moment that his slender band would be crushed, now reproached themselves for their pusillanimity, in not abetting that cause which they loved, and to which their aid might have given the ascendant. In a word, had he been properly supplied with arms, money, and military stores, from France, and with what he equally wanted, a few able engineers and experienced officers, the contest might still have been doubtful whether the family of Stuart or that of Hanover should sit on the throne of Great Britain.

But let us leave these political conjectures, and take a view of the state of Scotland, and of the daring adventurer in his course.

Soon after the rebels left Edinburgh, general Wade, who commanded in the north of England, sent a body of troops for the protection of that city. The inhabitants of Glasgow raised a regiment for their own defence: other towns followed their example; and all the Argyleshire Highlanders

were in arms for the support of government. The people of the south and west of Scotland, animated by the harangues of the presbyterian clergy, and stimulated by their intuitive or habitual horror against popery and arbitrary power, appeared only to increase in loyalty during the most prosperous fortune of the pretender. Their zeal for the protestant succession became warmer in proportion to his success, and the danger to which the existing government seemed exposed; for they paid no regard to his declarations in regard to religion, and very little to those of a civil nature. "Kirk and King!" was the prevailing cry.

Very different was the state of affairs in the north of Scotland. The majority of the people, beyond the river Tay, being chiefly papists, non jurors, or lukewarm presbyterians, were disposed to favour the re-establishment of the house of Stuart. But many of the leading men were attached to the reigning family by motives of interest, ambition, inclination, gratitude; and exerted themselves zealously for the support of government. Of these, one of the most distinguished was Duncan Forbes of Culloden, president of the Court of Session; a man of extensive knowledge, great talents, engaging manners, and equally respected for his public and private virtues. To him the house of Hanover may almost be said to owe its continuance on the throne of Great Britain, and we the enjoyment of our happy constitution. He confirmed in their allegiance several chieftains who began to waver: some he induced, by the force of his arguments, to renounce their former principles, and oppose that cause which they intended to abet; others he persuaded to remain quiet, from prudential considerations. In these views he was warmly seconded by the earl of Loudon, who commanded the king's forces at Inverness; where he was joined by twelve hundred men, under the earl of Sutherland; by a considerable number under lord Rae; and, beside the Grants and Monros, by a body of

hardy islanders from Skie, under sir Alexander Macdonald and the laird of Macleod [15].

These advantages, however, were counterbalanced by the prevailing spirit of the people, and the activity of a few rebel leaders. At the head of those stood lord Lewis Gordon; who, though his brother, the duke, was in the interest of government, had been remarkably successful in arming the retainers of the family, and in engaging all disaffected persons in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen. The earl of Cromartie had raised a body of men for the support of the pretender; a considerable sum of money had been received, for his use, from Spain; and lord John Drummond, brother to the duke of Perth, had landed with a small reinforcement, and with liberal promises of farther aid from France.

Encouraged by these flattering appearances, and by the rapid progress of the pretender, lord Lovat, one of the most extraordinary characters in ancient or modern times, who had long temporised, ordered his son to put himself at the head of his clan, and repair to the rendezvous of the rebels at Perth [16].—He even sent round his whole estate the *Fiery Cross*, or general denunciation of spoil, sword, and fire,

15 *Contin.* of Rapin, vol. ix.——Smollett, vol. xi.

16 Simon Fraser, lord Lovat, was born with insinuating talents, and exerted his whole force upon mankind through the channel of their vanity. Totally destitute of principle, and despising veracity as an useless quality, he accommodated all his actions to his immediate interest, and all his words to the deceitful purpose of drawing the credulous into his views. And although his natural address was homely, his personal appearance remarkably forbidding, and his flattery too obvious to escape the observation even of the weak and the vain; it was too strongly applied to be resisted entirely by men of the most moderate tempers, and of the soundest understanding. Though his projects were generally formed with little judgment, he was bold and fearless in the execution of them. In 1697, he entered, with an armed band, the house of a woman of quality, seized her person, and ordered the marriage ceremony to be performed, while he endeavoured, with the sound of a bag-pipe, to drown her cries; and having stripped her, by cutting off her stays with his

made by the Highland chiefs against such of their vassals as should refuse to take arms at their command. Near a thousand Frasers were instantly levied, and the master of Lovat invested Fort Augustus. The earl of Loudon marched to the relief of the garrison, and accomplished his purpose. But this success was more than balanced by that of lord Lewis Gordon, who surprised and routed the laird of Macleod, and

dirk or dagger, he forced her to bed, and consummated the pretended marriage amid the noise and riot of his barbarous attendants.

Obliged to abandon the kingdom, and declared a rebel and an outlaw for this and other acts of violence, Fraser found means to obtain a pardon from king William. He also ingratiated himself with the court of St. Germain by becoming a catholic; and was employed by the court of France in attempting to raise a rebellion in Scotland in 1703. For that purpose he was furnished with proper credentials by the pretender; but, instead of making use of them for the restoration of the exiled family, he disclosed the plot to the English government, and returned to France to procure more full proofs of the guilt of the principal conspirators. His treachery being there discovered, he was thrown into the Bastile, where he remained some months, and must have suffered the punishment due to his crimes, but for his consummate dissimulation. He had the address to make it believed, that all he had done was for the interest of the pretender; and, on his return to Britain, his sufferings in France recommended him not only to the protection but the favour of government.

In 1715, he was highly serviceable to the house of Hanover, by assisting in the suppression of the rebellion; and becoming afterward a personal favourite of George I. he was nobly rewarded for his loyalty. He even formed the scheme of erecting himself into a kind of viceroy in the Highlands; pretending, that if he had the distribution of twenty-five thousand pounds annually among the heads of the clans, he could effectually prevent all their future insurrections, and draw them insensibly into the interests of the reigning family. Disappointed, however, in his ambitious hopes, and otherwise disgusted with the established government, he relapsed into Jacobitism; and concluding that the young pretender would be supported by a powerful foreign force, he was at no pains to conceal his principles. But when Charles landed without such force, Lovat refused to join him, though he had accepted the office of lord-lieutenant of all the counties north of the Spey. Yet was he industrious in arming his clan; in order, as is supposed, to procure a pardon for his treasonable speeches and practices, by throwing his interest into the scale of government, if the unexpected success of the pretender had not induced him to take part in the rebellion. See *the Stuart Papers, Lockhart's Mem. Lovat's Trial.*

Monro of Culcairn, at Inverary, and obliged them to repass the Spey; so that the rebels were now masters of the whole country, from that river to the Frith of Forth, and every where imposed contributions on the inhabitants, and seized the royal revenue.

The pretender, on leaving England, understanding that Edinburgh was secured by a fresh army, had proceeded by the way of Dumfries to Glasgow, and imposed a heavy contribution on that loyal city. After making a hasty but oppressive tour through the neighbouring country, he directed his march to Stirling, where he was joined by the French troops under lord John Drummond, by the Frasers under the Master of Lovat, and by lord Lewis Gordon and his victorious followers. It was now resolved to invest that town and castle; the latter being of great importance, by commanding the bridge over the river Forth. The town surrendered as soon as a battery was opened against it; but the castle, defended by a good garrison, under the command of general Blakeney, baffled all the attempts of the rebels.

A. D. 1746.

The taking of the town of Stirling was, in itself, an event of little moment. Yet, when connected with the miraculous escape of the pretender from two royal armies, and the increase of the number of his adherents during his bold expedition to the southern parts of the kingdom, it served to occasion fresh alarm in England; especially as it was deemed a prelude to the reduction of that fortress which was the key of communication between the north and south of Scotland. The greatest exploits were now thought not impossible for Charles and his sturdy Highlanders, who seemed to be at once invulnerable, and proof against the rage of the elements.

General Hawley, an experienced officer, was ordered instantly to assemble an army, and proceed to the relief of Stirling castle. This commander, who was naturally brave, confident, and even presumptuous, having under him major-general Huske, the brigadiers Cholmondeley and Mordaunt,

and other officers of distinction, advanced to Falkirk at the head of nine thousand men, beside the Argyleshire Highlanders and Glasgow volunteers; and having a contemptible idea of the rebels, whom he had boasted he would drive from one end of the kingdom to the other with two regiments of dragoons, he gave himself little trouble to enquire after their numbers or disposition.

The pretender's army consisted of eight thousand five hundred men, and lay concealed in Torwood. Hawley, being informed that his adversaries were preparing to take possession of some rising grounds in the neighbourhood of his camp, commanded his cavalry to cut them in pieces. But the event proved very different from what he expected. The horse being quickly broken, recoiled upon the foot; and a total rout ensued. Abandoning their tents, with part of their artillery and baggage, the king's forces retired in confusion to Edinburgh, after attempting in vain to make a stand at Falkirk. About three hundred of their number were killed or wounded, and two hundred were made prisoners [17].

Jan. 17.

If the victorious Charles, during the consternation occasioned by this second blow, had again boldly entered England, he might possibly have taken up his winter-quarters in the capital; or, if he had marched with the main body of his army toward Inverness, he might have crushed the earl of Loudon, disarmed the loyal clans, doubled the number of his adherents, and made himself absolute master of all the north of Scotland. But his heart being set on the reduction of Stirling castle, he lost sight of every other object. He therefore returned to the siege of that fortress; and after having in vain attempted to carry it by assault, the mode of attack most agreeable to his followers, and for which they were best adapted, he obstinately persisted in erecting batteries, opening trenches, and making regular approaches, in

[17] *Contin.* of Rapin; and various Publications of the Times.

the depth of winter, to the great dissatisfaction of the Highlanders, many of whom retired in disgust to their native mountains.

While he was wasting his time, and breaking the spirit of his adherents, in these fruitless, impolitic, and ill-conducted operations, the nation recovered from that panic into which it had been thrown by the rout at Falkirk. The royal army in Scotland was reinforced with a body of fresh troops. The duke of Cumberland was appointed to command it; and the affairs of government soon began to wear a new face. Though unsuccessful in Flanders, and considered by professional men as no great master in the military art, the duke was adored by the soldiery. And the appearance of a prince of the blood, it was hoped, would at once intimidate the rebels, and encourage the king's troops.

Experience proved this conjecture to be well founded. The duke, on his arrival at Edinburgh, was received with the warmest expressions of joy, and welcomed as a deliverer by the loyal party. The presbyterian preachers went yet farther: they represented him as a saviour sent by the Almighty to protect his chosen people, and take vengeance on their enemies. Firmness and confidence now took place of irresolution and despondency; and such of the Jacobites as had not yet taken arms, foreseeing the ruin of their prince's cause, remained quiet.

As soon as the royal commander had collected his army, amounting to about fourteen thousand horse and foot, he advanced toward the enemy. Charles at first seemed disposed to hazard a battle. But the Highlanders being much fatigued and disgusted with the siege of Stirling castle, upon which they could make no impression, and in the attacks of which they had lost a number of men, the pretender resolved, by the advice of his most experienced officers, to abandon all his posts on this side of the Spey, and proceed northward, as a fugitive instead of a conqueror. He was able, however, to reduce Inverness, Fort George, and Fort

Augustus; and to oblige the earl of Loudon to take refuge in the isle of Skie. In a word, his present success shewed what he might have done, had he taken this route during his good fortune, when every heart was big with hope. The well-affected clans, as they were called, who now made but a feeble resistance, would then have joined him almost to a man: and many persons of distinction, who still wore the mask of loyalty, would have repaired to his standard. Although he had been impolitic, he was yet formidable; and only a more perfect knowledge of the advantages of his situation seemed necessary, to have enabled him to withstand all the efforts of his enemies.

In the mean time, the duke being joined by six thousand Hessians [18], left two battalions in Stirling, and four in Perth, and proceeded to Aberdeen with the main body of his army. During his stay in that neighbourhood, he was indefatigable in exercising his troops, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, and in providing for the security of the country; and as soon as the weather would permit, he began his march for Inverness, where the rebels had established their head-quarters. Contrary to all expectation, he was permitted to pass the deep and rapid river Spey without opposition, though about three thousand Highlanders appeared on the northern side, and the banks were steep and difficult of ascent. It was not timidity, however, but the presumption of their leaders, that restrained them from disputing the passage of the royal army; a resolution having been taken in a council of war, in spite of sound arguments, to leave the fords of the Spey open, as the sanguine adherents of Charles entertained no doubt of being able to cut off all who should pass the river. The more, said they, we suffer to cross it, the fewer will escape.

18 These troops were sent over from Flanders to replace the Dutch auxiliaries, whose recall the French court had demanded, as they had formed a part of the garrison of Tournay, precluded by the articles of capitulation from serving against his most Christian majesty or his allies for eighteen months.

Romantic, however, as this idea appears, and unwise the maxim on which it was founded, it might perhaps have been realised, had the pretender afterward followed the advice of the more cool and experienced Highland chieftains. Had he resolved to act only on the defensive, and continued to retire northward, disputing every defile with his pursuers, until he had led the royal army into mountains, where its cavalry could not subsist, and whither its artillery, ammunition, provision, and baggage-waggons could not be drawn, he might at least have obliged the duke to retire in his turn; especially as the Highlanders, from their knowledge of the country, the friendly disposition of the inhabitants, the number of live cattle, and their own spare diet, could there have found subsistence for a considerable time. And the glory connected with the retreat of the king's troops, independent of other advantages which might have resulted from such a line of conduct, would have been of great service to the pretender's cause.

But Charles, who had imbibed, from his hot-headed Irish adherents, false notions of military honour, thought it would be disgraceful to retire farther before his antagonist. He therefore determined to hazard an engagement; though the royal army was not only, in all respects, better appointed, but superior in number, by at least one third, to that of his undisciplined followers. And having failed in an attempt to surprise the enemy at Nairn during the night, he marched back to his camp on Culloden moor; where, seemingly in a fit of desperation, it was resolved by the rebel chiefs, amidst the great fatigue of their men, to wait the approach of the king's forces, in order of battle [19].

19 The followers of Charles had indeed much cause for chagrin. They had hoped to attack the king's troops while buried in sleep and security, after celebrating the duke's birth-day. Lord George Murray undertook to conduct the enterprise, and every thing seemed to promise success; when, after a march of seven miles, one of the three divisions, into which the rebel army was formed, lost its way, through the darkness of the night. The other

The duke left Nairn early in the morning, and came in sight of the rebels about noon. They were drawn up in thirteen divisions under their respective leaders, with four pieces of cannon before their centre, where the pretender was stationed, and the same number on each wing. The royal host formed three lines, disposed in excellent order for resisting the fierce attack of the rebels; several pieces of cannon being placed between the lines, and every second rank instructed to reserve its fire: so that when the Highlanders, having thrown away their musquets, according to custom, advanced with their broad-swords, they were not only received upon the point of the bayonet, but galled by an unexpected fire of musquetry, and blown into the air by concealed artillery. The event was such as the duke had promised himself. The rebels, after an ineffectual struggle of thirty minutes, were totally routed. The king's troops, particularly the dragoons, irritated by their former disgraces, and the fatigue of a winter campaign, gave no quarter. About twelve hundred of the rebels were killed in the battle and pursuit, with a small loss on the part of the royalists[20].

April 16.

The victory at Culloden was complete and decisive. All the pretender's hopes, and even his courage, seemed to abandon him with his good fortune. Having too soon left the field of battle, he was advised by lord Lovat to return and rally his forces: he promised, but declined compliance. And although two thousand of his faithful Highlanders re-

divisions advanced within a mile of the royal army, where lord George suspecting, as is said, from the neighing of a horse, that they were discovered, ordered a retreat. On this, the pretender exclaimed that he was betrayed; and the rebels returned to their camp, unperceived, by eight o'clock in the morning; mortified with their disappointment, and stung with the reproach of their prince, whose sanguine spirit would, on that occasion, have been a better guide than the timid caution, if not treachery, of his general.——*Contin.* of Rapin, vol. ix.

[20] London *Gazette*, April 26, 1746.——*Contin.* of Rapin, ubi sup.——Smollett, vol. xi.

solutely assembled at Fort Augustus, and a body of the Lowlanders at Ruthven, in order to know his commands; though a ship arrived from France with forty thousand pounds in specie; and near a thousand men, who had not been at the battle of Culloden, were ready to join him, he desired them all to disperse, and wandered under various disguises, in woods and wilds, a wretched fugitive, destitute of the common necessaries of life, and in constant danger of falling into the hands of his enemies. At length, after suffering an extraordinary series of hardships, during five months, in the Highlands and western isles of Scotland, whither he was chased by his blood-thirsty pursuers, a price of thirty thousand pounds being set on his head; after having entrusted the secret of his life to above fifty persons, many of whom were in low condition, and who knew, that by betraying him they ſhould be enabled to live in affluence[21], he was taken on board a French privateer, and safely landed on the coast of Bretagne.

The heroic attachment of a gallant youth, whose name is said to have been Mackenzie, contributed greatly to the escape of the pretender. About the 20th of July, when Charles had fled for safety to the top of the mountain of Mamnyncallam in Lochaber, the king's troops surprised a

21. One poor gentleman, who had no share in the rebellion, but whose humanity had led him to administer to the necessities of Charles, being apprehended and carried before a court of justice, was asked, how he dared to assist the king's greatest enemy; and why, having always appeared to be a loyal subject, he did not deliver up the pretender, and claim the reward offered by government for his person. "I only gave him," replied the prisoner, "what nature seemed to require—a night's lodging, and an humble repast. "And who among my judges, though poor as I am, would have sought to "acquire riches, by violating the rights of hospitality, in order to earn the "price of blood?" The court was filled with confusion and amazement at the simple eloquence of this untutored orator: the suit was dismissed, and the prisoner set at liberty—So much stronger an impression will fellow-feeling and the sense of natural equity make on the human breast, than the dictates of political law, though enforced by the greatest rewards or the severest punishments!

party of his followers in a hut, on the side of the mountain, and obliged them to surrender, after an obstinate resistance. One young man, however, made his escape. The prisoners assured the commanding officer that this was the pretender. Animated by the prospect of an ample reward, the soldiers eagerly pursued, and at last overtook the fugitive. They desired him to submit, as resistance would be ineffectual; and intimated that they knew who he was. He seemed to acquiesce in their mistake, but refused quarter, and died with his sword in his hand, exclaiming as he fell, "You have killed your prince!"—Independently of these generous expressions, the person slain resembled so much, in all respects, the description of the pretender given to the army, that an end was immediately put to farther pursuit: and although the government pretended to discredit the report, a general belief of the death of Charles prevailed, and little search was thenceforth made after him [22].

The unfortunate adventurer was caressed for a time at the court of France, as there was yet a possibility of his being of farther use; but no sooner was the peace concluded, than he was consigned to extreme neglect, and condemned to sufferings more severe than any he had yet experienced. On his refusing to quit the kingdom, he was seized by a party of the guards, pinioned, and conducted to the frontiers, in violation of the most solemn engagements [23]; a perfidy for which the articles of peace could be no apology, as France had the power of dictating the stipulations of the treaty. He was ruined and betrayed, like many of his ancestors, by those in whom he confided; and with his fortunes perished the last hopes of the family of Stuart, and of their partisans in the British dominions.

The pretender's sufferings must have been much aggravated by those of his unhappy adherents, unless we suppose him devoid of all the feelings of humanity, and of all senti-

[22] *Contin.* of Rapin, vol. ix. [23] Voltaire, *Siecle de Louis* XV. chap. xxv.

ments of generous sympathy. Immediately after the battle of Culloden, the royal army entered the rebel country, which was cruelly ravaged with fire and sword. All the cattle and provisions were carried off. The men, hunted down like wild beasts upon the mountains, were shot on the smallest resistance : and not a hut was left standing to shelter the miserable women and children from the inclemency of the weather. They were left to perish of hunger and cold on the barren heaths. In a few weeks, all appearance of rebellion, and almost of population, being exterminated in the Highlands, the duke of Cumberland returned to London as a conqueror; leaving his army, formed into twenty-seven divisions, or flying camps, to take vengeance on the surviving fugitives.

A new scene of horror was now exhibited. The asperity of justice threatened with destruction those whom the sword had spared, and who had not escaped to the continent. Courts being opened in different parts of England for the trial of the rebel prisoners, where they could have procured no evidence in their favour, had they been innocent, and where every accuser was admitted, small possibility remained to them of escaping punishment. Seventeen officers were accordingly condemned, and executed at Kennington common, near London. Thirty-one of the captives suffered death in Cumberland, and twenty-two in Yorkshire. Most of these unfortunate men behaved with great firmness, and seemed to glory in dying for the cause they had espoused. A few received pardons; and many were transported to the plantations [24].

The earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, and the lords Balmerino and Lovat, were tried by their peers and found guilty. Cromartie was pardoned at the intercession of his lady; the other three were beheaded on Tower-hill. Kilmarnock, a nobleman of elegant accomplishments, but de-

24 *Contin.* of Rapin, vol. ix.

sperate fortune, and who had been educated in the principles of the Revolution, died with marks of penitence, either from sorrow at having acted against his conscience, or in hopes of a pardon; it being observed, that he lifted his head from the block, and looked anxiously around before the fatal blow was struck. Balmerino, who had been bred a soldier, and who had obeyed the dictates of his heart, behaved in a more resolute manner. He seemed even to exult in his sufferings; but checked his natural boldness, lest it should appear indecent on such an occasion. Lovat, after trying every expedient to save his life, avowed his Jacobitism, and died, not only with composure, but dignity; feeling the axe, surveying the crowd, and exclaiming, in seeming triumph,

Dulce et decorum est pro patriâ mori!

"'Tis great, 'tis noble, thrones usurp'd to shake,
"And sweet to die for our dear country's sake [25]."

Thus was extinguished a rebellion, which, from small beginnings, rose to an alarming height, and, at one time, threatened a revolution in the state. In order more effectually to eradicate the seeds of disloyalty, and break the refractory spirit of the Highlanders, the heads of clans were deprived of their exclusive hereditary jurisdiction, which they had abused: and persons of all ranks were prohibited, by act of parliament, from wearing the ancient dress of their country [26].

[25] A sentiment so sublime, from the mouth of a man who had lived in the habitual violation of every moral duty, and whose sole object was self-interest, forms a severe satire on the common pretensions to patriotism.

[26] This act has been since repealed, from a conviction of its inexpediency. And it is truly extraordinary it should ever have been supposed, that men would become more loyal or submissive because they were compelled to wear breeches.

LETTER XXX.

A general View of the Affairs of Europe, from the Treaty of Dresden, in 1745, *to the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in* 1748.

THE treaty of Dresden, and the confirmation of that of Breslau, by finally detaching the king of Prussia from the house of Bourbon, made a great change in the state of the contending powers, but did not dispose them to peace. The king of France, encouraged by his past successes, and by the absence of the British troops, was eager to push his conquests in the Low Countries; and the king of Great Britain, enraged at the support given by Louis to a competitor for his throne, resolved upon vengeance, as soon as the rebellion in Scotland should be finally suppressed. Elate with the exaltation of her husband to the imperial throne, and having now no enemy to oppose in Germany, the queen of Hungary hoped to be able to give a favourable turn to the war in Italy. She even flattered herself, that the Circles, or the Germanic body, might be induced to take arms against France; and that, by the co-operation of England and Holland, whatever she had lost in the Netherlands might be recovered, and the victorious house of Bourbon yet completely humbled. A. D. 1745.

Of all the hostile powers, the king of France was first in readiness to carry his designs into execution. Mareschal Saxe, to the astonishment of Europe, and the terror of the confederates, took Brussels, the capital of Brabant, and the residence of the governors of the Austrian Netherlands, before the close of the winter. Louis joined his victorious army (consisting of a hundred and twenty thousand men) in the month of April, and obliged the allies under Bathiani to retire first to Antwerp, and afterward A. D. 1746.

to Breda. Antwerp was invested, and reduced in a few days. Nothing could withstand the French artillery directed by Lowendahl, or the army conducted by Saxe. Mons, a town of remarkable strength, held out only a few weeks. St. Guislain and Charleroy were also obliged to submit; and, in July, Louis found himself absolute master of the provinces of Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault.

Before this time, prince Charles of Lorrain had assumed the command of the confederate army; which being reinforced with ten thousand Hanoverians, six thousand Hessians, three British regiments, and twenty-five thousand Hungarians under count Palfi, now amounted to eighty-seven thousand men, including the Dutch forces commanded by the prince of Waldeck. Concluding that Namur would be the next object of attack, the prince of Lorrain marched toward that place, and occupied an advantageous post in the neighbourhood, within sight of the French army, which was encamped at Gemblours. Mareschal Saxe, who greatly surpassed in abilities all the generals of the allies, not judging it prudent to attack them in so strong a situation, attempted by other means to accomplish the views of his master. He accordingly reduced Dinant, in the bishoprick of Liege; while Lowendahl, by his direction, took Huy, and there seized a large magazine belonging to the confederates.

In consequence of the reduction of those towns, the French became masters of the navigation of the Maes; and by cutting off the communication of the allies with Maestricht, obliged prince Charles, from scarcity of provisions, to quit his post, and abandon Namur to its fate. The citadel of this place, built upon a steep rock, and twelve other forts, erected on the ridges of the neighbouring mountains, seemed to render it inaccessible to any attack. The garrison consisted of eight thousand Dutch and Austrians, who defended the works with equal skill and resolution; yet so powerful and well-directed was the fire of

the French artillery, that the town was forced to surrender in a few days, and the citadel in three weeks.

The confederate army being reinforced by some Bavarian and British battalions under sir John Ligonier, prince Charles resolved to give battle to the main body of the enemy, while weakened by the employment of a considerable force in the siege of Namur. With this view he passed the Maes, and advanced toward the French camp; but found mareschal Saxe so advantageously posted at Tongres, that he deemed it expedient to retire. He was severely harassed in his retreat. The confederates, however, behaved with great spirit, and at last repelled their pursuers.

The enterprising Saxe, having soon after formed a junction with the troops that had reduced Namur, passed the Jaar to meet the allies, who, aware of his intention, took possession of the villages of Liers, Warem, and Roucoux, and made other preparations for receiving him. At break of day, the French army advanced in three columns; and about noon a terrible cannonading began. By two o'clock the prince of Waldeck, who commanded on the left of the confederates, and against whom the enemy chiefly directed their force, was compelled to give way. The three villages were attacked, at the same time, by fifty-five battalions, in brigades. As soon as one brigade was repulsed, another advanced; so that the confederates, fatigued with continual fighting, and being, by an unaccountable neglect, in a great measure destitute of artillery, while the French played upon them with above eighty pieces of cannon, were at last obliged to abandon the villages, and retreat towards Maestricht. Five thousand of their number were killed, wounded, or captured; while nine thousand of the French lost their lives or were wounded. With this battle, in which the Austrians had little share, the operations of the campaign in the Low Countries ended. Both armies, dissatisfied with the issue of the action, and as if ashamed of such an idle waste of blood, went soon after into winter-quarters.

Oct. 1.

Happily for the allies, the house of Bourbon was less successful this summer in Italy, though artful measures had been taken during the winter, to acquire an absolute superiority over the house of Austria in that country; where Don Philip and Maillebois, who had carried every thing before them in the preceding campaign, were still at the head of powerful armies. The French monarch was no sooner informed of the defection of the king of Prussia, than he made, without consulting the court of Madrid, advantageous proposals to the king of Sardinia; and these offers were accepted, and a cessation of hostilities signed [1]. But Louis had soon reason to repent of his rashness. The king, or rather the queen of Spain who was still at the head of the administration, enraged at any dismemberment of the possessions intended for Don Philip, reproached his most Christian majesty with a breach of the treaty of Fontainbleau; and although matters were afterwards adjusted between the two courts, and the treaty with the king of Sardinia, though so far advanced, broken off, their interests suffered severely by this misunderstanding, which produced a temporary jealousy between the French and Spanish armies. An almost total inaction was the consequence; and that inaction gave rise to new jealousies, and mutual accusations, which led to great misfortunes.

1 This treaty, which secured to Don Philip, beside Parma and Placentia, a share of the duchy of Milan and all the Cremonese, had for its chief object, on the part of the king of Sardinia, the independence of Italy. It therefore provided, that no Italian state should be united to the crown of France, Spain, or the imperial crown. (*Mem. de Noailles*, tome iv.) Such a policy was perfectly sound, and consistent with the character and situation of the king of Sardinia as one of the Italian princes, but treacherous as one of the confederate and subsidiary powers. Yet has the fidelity of his Sardinian majesty been generally extolled, because this treaty, to which he positively acceded, and his other secret negotiations and intrigues, which were defeated by accidental circumstances, have hitherto remained in a great measure unknown. So precarious a thing is human virtue! and so little connexion often have the seemingly meritorious actions of men with the sentiments of honour, or the real motives that influence their conduct.

Meanwhile the king of Sardinia, the most politic prince of his time, having in vain solicited the signing of the definitive treaty with France, made himself master of Asti, one of the strongest places in Italy, which had a French garrison of five thousand men. The pretext assigned for this breach of faith was, the danger of the reduction of the citadel of Milan by the Spaniards; but his true motive was, a desire of recovering the confidence of his old, or of bringing matters to a crisis with his new, allies. The success of the measure exceeded his most sanguine expectations. The confederates were confirmed in their opinion of his good faith, and the king of France was still amused with assurances of friendship. Don Philip accused Maillebois of treachery for not attempting to cover Asti[2]; and the Spaniards, having no reliance on their allies, immediately raised the siege of the citadel of Milan, and marched to Pavia; while the French general, afraid that his communication with Genoa and Provence might be cut off by the Austrians, whose strength in Italy was rapidly increasing, evacuated all the districts in the neighbourhood of the Tanaro and the Po, and retired to Novi.

The Austrian army, under prince Lichtenstein, now amounted to forty thousand men, and that of the king of Sardinia to thirty-six thousand. Having no formidable enemy to oppose them, by reason of the misunderstanding between the French and Spaniards, they recovered all the Piedmontese fortresses, ravaged the territory of Cremona, and took Lodi, Guastalla, Parma, and other places. Meantime, a reconciliation having been effected between the courts of Versailles and Madrid, Maillebois formed a junction with Philip at Placentia; and a resolution was taken to force the Austrian camp at St. Lazaro, before the arrival of the king of Sardinia. An attack was accordingly made, and supported with great intrepidity; but so masterly was the conduct of prince Lichtenstein, and so obstinate the courage of the Austrians,

[2] *Mem. de Noailles*, tom. iv. And he would have ordered that general to be arrested, had not his passion been moderated by the count de Gages.

that the assailants were compelled to retire, after a bloody contest of nine hours, leaving five thousand men dead on the field, and about an equal number wounded.

Soon after this disaster, Don Philip and his associates received intelligence of an event which threw them into new perplexity; namely, the death of Philip V. of Spain. July. Weak, but virtuous, he was governed successively by two ambitious women, who infused fresh spirit into the Spanish councils, and roused him, notwithstanding his natural indolence, to the most vigorous measures and most arduous enterprises. In the reign of this first prince of the house of Bourbon who sat upon the Spanish throne, the slumbering genius of the nation began to revive, and with it the splendour of the monarchy. He was succeeded by his son Ferdinand VI. who at first embraced with ardour the principles of the union between the two branches of the house of Bourbon, and resolved steadily to pursue the objects for which that union had been formed by Elizabeth Farnese, the queen dowager.

Don Philip and Maillebois, however, being ignorant of the sentiments of the new king in regard to the Italian war, and pressed by the vigour of their adversaries, were desirous of securing a communication with France. A retreat was accordingly agreed upon. This was thought a desperate expedient, as the king of Sardinia had now joined the Austrian army, and assumed the chief command. But without the assurance of immediate support, it was perhaps the best that could be adopted in such circumstances, as the French and Spaniards were in danger of being shut up between the Po, the Lambro, the Tidona, and the Trebia, by a vastly superior and victorious force.

The retreat was conducted with great ability by the count de Maillebois, son of the mareschal of that name. He led the van, and his father and the count de Gages brought up the rear; yet they could not prevent the enemy from attacking them to advantage at Rotto Freddo, where they be-

haved with great gallantry, but sustained a severe loss. The surrender of Placentia, which was defended by four thousand men, under the marquis de Castello, was the consequence of this victory.

The Piedmontese and Austrians, conducted by the king of Sardinia, assisted by the generals Botta and Brown, now advanced to Tortona, which was surrendered to them, while the French and Spaniards took shelter under the cannon of Genoa. Here it was expected they would have made a stand, as that city, by its situation, is very capable of defence. But the marquis de las Minas, who had succeeded the count de Gages in the command under Don Philip, did not judge it prudent to hazard the loss of the remains of the army; and, as Maillebois concurred in this opinion, the Genoese, after repeated assurances of support, were abandoned to their fate. Philip retired toward Savoy, and Maillebois into Provence.

This retreat was immediately followed by the surrender of Genoa. That haughty republic was subjected to the most humiliating conditions, and the proud city loaded with arbitrary and oppressive contributions. The arrogance and rapacity of Botta, to whom the command of the place was committed, exceeded all description. And he was encouraged in his tyrannical proceedings by the court of Vienna; which, deaf to the supplications of a distressed people, seemed determined to reduce the Genoese to the lowest state of wretchedness. His most cruel exactions, and even those of Coteck, the commissary-general, who surpassed him in rapacity, were thought too mild and moderate.

The Austrian and Piedmontese troops having now no enemy to encounter, the commanders were employed, for a time, in deliberating toward what quarter they should turn their arms. Botta, who knew how much the heart of his mistress was set upon recovering Naples, proposed that the Genoese should be compelled to furnish transports for the invasion of that kingdom. And had this scheme been instantly under-

taken, it could not have failed of success, as the king of Naples had few regular troops beside those in the army of Don Philip.

The consequences of such a conquest to Great Britain would have been of high importance. Spain, in that event, would have been under the necessity of deserting France, and concluding a separate peace. And she would have been obliged to purchase it with the sacrifice of her most valuable commercial interests, by giving up her exclusive right to the trade of her American dominions. The two great branches of the house of Bourbon would have been disunited; and England and Austria would have given law to France, after having obtained their own conditions from the Catholic king[3].

But the king of Sardinia had other interests to manage. He by no means wished to see the house of Austria all-powerful in Italy. He therefore persuaded the court of London, which held the purse, and consequently took the lead, in the course of a long and expensive war, that it would be more advantageous to the common cause to invade France; and that by the co-operation of the British fleet, not only Antibes, but Toulon and Marseilles, might speedily be reduced. The consent of the court of Vienna being obtained, count Brown entered Provence at the head of fifty thousand men. Advancing as far as Draguignan, he laid the whole country under contribution; while baron Roth invested Antibes, which was at the same time bombarded by a British squadron, under vice-admiral Medley. But the mareschal de Belleisle, a man fruitful in resources, and intimately acquainted with the whole science of war, so effectually cut off the provisions of the invaders, and otherwise harassed them, that the Austrian general, though able, active, and enterprising, found himself under the necessity of repassing the Var, particularly when he had received some un-

3 *Mem.* de Noailles, tome iv.——*Mémoires sur les Affaires d' Italie.*

pleasing intelligence from Genoa; and the siege of Antibes was relinquished, after many efforts by sea and land, the place being gallantly defended by the chevalièr de Sade.

The change of fortune in Italy was sudden and remarkable. The inhabitants of Genoa, driven to despair by the oppressions of the Austrians, had risen against their conquerors, and expelled them. Though degenerate even to a proverb, they seemed to be animated with all their ancient spirit of liberty, when they felt the galling fetters of slavery, and resolved to attempt the recovery of that freedom which they had wanted valour to defend. Secretly encouraged in this bold purpose by some of the senators, who also directed their measures, they flew to arms, determined to perish to a man, rather than live longer in such a cruel and ignominious servitude. And so firm was their perseverance in this resolution, and so vigorous the impulse by which they were actuated, that the marquis de Botta, after having sustained great loss, in a variety of struggles, and been driven from every important post, was obliged to evacuate the city. Nor did the patriotic zeal of the Genoese stop here: they took the most effectual steps for their future security, conscious that they were still surrounded by their oppressors.

The naval incidents of the year were not very honourable to the British flag. Nothing of moment happened in the West Indies. In the East Indies, commodore Peyton, who commanded six stout ships, shamefully declined a second engagement with a French squadron of equal or inferior force; and la Bourdonnais, the French commander, in consequence of Peyton's cowardice, reduced the English settlement of Madras, on the coast of Coromandel. No event of importance happened on the coast of North America, though the campaign in that quarter seemed pregnant with great revolutions.

The British ministry, encouraged by the taking of Louisbourg, and the consequent reduction of the island of Cape Breton, had projected the conquest of Quebec, the capital

of Canada, or New France, situated on the river St. Laurence, and accessible to ships of the greatest force. Intelligence to this purpose was sent to the governors of the English colonies in North America; and provincial troops were raised to assist in the enterprise. Six regiments were prepared for embarkation at Portsmouth, and every thing seemed to promise success. But the sailing of the fleet and transports was postponed by unaccountable delays till the season of action in those climates had elapsed. A new direction was therefore given to the enterprise, that the armament might not seem altogether useless to the nation. A descent was made on the coast of France, in hopes of surprising Port l'Orient, the repository of the stores belonging to the French East India company. But this project also failed; though not without alarming the enemy, and shewing the possibility of hurting France in her very vitals, by means of such an armament, if well appointed and vigorously conducted. Lestock, who commanded the fleet, did not properly ſecond the efforts of the army; and the troops indeed, being destitute of heavy cannon, could make no impression on the place [4].

The French miscarried in an enterprise of a similar nature, and of equal magnitude. A formidable armament was prepared at Brest for the recovery of Cape Breton, and the reduction of the English settlement of Annapolis. It consisted of near forty ships of war, eleven of which were of the line; two artillery ships, and fifty-six transports, laden with provisions and military stores, and carrying three thousand five hundred soldiers, and forty thousand stand of small arms, for the use of the Canadians and Indians in the French interest, who were expected to co-operate with the troops. The fleet sailed in June, but did not reach the coast of Nova Scotia till the beginning of September. A dreadful mortality prevailed on board the transports; and

4 *Contin.* of Rapin, vol. ix.——Smollet, vol. xi.

the whole fleet was attacked by furious and repeated storms, and either wrecked or dispersed. D'Anville, the admiral, made his way with a few ships to Quebec; while de la Jonquiere, who commanded the land-forces, and had boasted that he would subdue all the English settlements on the continent of America, finding his men reduced to a handful, returned to France without attempting any thing[5].

The court of Versailles having discovered a seeming desire of peace, a congress was opened at Breda, toward the close of the campaign; but the French were so insolent in their demands, that the conferences were soon broken off, and all parties prepared for war with an increase of vigour and animosity. The states-general, who had hitherto acted a shamefully timid and disingenuous part, more injurious than beneficial to the cause they pretended to aid, now became seriously sensible of their danger, and of the necessity of forming a closer alliance with the courts of London and Vienna, or throwing themselves into the arms of France; and they resolved to take effectual measures for opposing the designs of that powerful and ambitious neighbour. With this view, they engaged to augment their quota of troops, in the Netherlands, to forty thousand: the king of Great Britain agreed to furnish an equal number; and the empress-queen, supported by British money, promised to send sixty thousand Austrians to act in conjunction with them. Beside this grand army, intended to set bounds to the conquests of Louis, ninety thousand Austrians and Piedmontese, under the king of Sardinia, another sovereign in British pay, were to enter Provence, while a smaller body should keep the king of Naples in awe.

The Bourbon princes were not unprepared for such a competition. The king of France had ordered an army of one hundred and forty thousand men to be assembled in the Netherlands; and, to give greater firmness to this immense

5 Millot.——Voltaire.

force, he renewed in the person of the count de Saxe the title of *Mareschal de Camp General*, which had been conferred on the famous Turenne, and which gave him a superiority over all the mareschals of France, and even princes of the blood. The Spanish force in Savoy was considerably augmented; and forty thousand French soldiers were assembled in Provence. A final trial of strength seemed to be the object of all parties.

The grand army of the confederates took the field, in three bodies, toward the end of March. The duke of Cumberland, with the British troops, Hanoverians, and Hessians, fixed his head quarters at Tilberg, in Dutch Brabant; the prince of Waldeck, with the troops of the states-general, occupied the vicinity of Breda; and mareschal Bathiani assembled the Austrians and Bavarians near Venlo. The whole army lay inactive for six weeks, exposed to the inclemency of the weather, and almost destitute of forage and provisions; while mareschal Saxe, sensible that the first care of a general is the health of his soldiers, kept his troops warm within their cantonments at Bruges, Antwerp, and Brussels, furnished with plenty of every thing, and under no necessity of encountering unavailing fatigues. The inactivity, which is said to have been occasioned by the negligence of the Dutch and Austrian commissaries, deprived the allies of all the advantages they had promised themselves from an early campaign, beside damping the ardour of the troops, and weakening them by sickness.

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The count de Saxe, having settled with the French ministry the plan of operations, at length took the field, detaching Lowendahl to invade Dutch Flanders. At the same time, the French minister at the Hague declared, that his most Christian majesty, in thus entering the territories of the republic (a step to which he was driven by the necessity of war) had no wish to come to a rupture with the states-general. He meant only to obviate the dangerous effects of the pro-

tection they afforded to the troops of the queen of Hungary and the king of England; and he had therefore ordered the commander of his troops to observe the strictest discipline, and on no account to offer any disturbance to the religion, government, or commerce of the republic. He also intimated, that he would consider the places and countries he should be obliged to seise for his own security merely as a pledge, which he promised to restore, as soon as the United Provinces should give convincing proofs that they would no longer assist the enemies of his crown.

While the rulers of Holland were deliberating on this declaration, which was chiefly intended to amuse the populace, Lowendahl made himself master of Sluys, Sandberg, Hulst, and other fortified places of no small importance, the confederates not daring to oppose his progress. They were obliged by their position to cover Breda and Bois-le-duc; and all their motions were jealously watched by mareschal Saxe, who covered Antwerp, and the other French conquests in the Low Countries, with a hundred and ten thousand men. Thus secure, Lowendahl pushed his conquests in the Dutch territories. Having taken possession of Axel and Terneuse, he was making preparations for a descent upon Zealand, when a British squadron defeated his purpose, and a revolution in the government of Holland made a retreat necessary[6].

Struck with consternation at the progress of the French arms, the inhabitants of the United Provinces, believing themselves betrayed by their rulers, complained loudly of the conduct of affairs. The friends of the prince of Orange did not neglect so favourable an opportunity of promoting his interest. They encouraged the discontents of the people; they exaggerated the public danger; they reminded their countrymen of the year 1672, when the French were at the gates of Amsterdam, and the republic was saved by the

6 *Mem. de Saxe.*

election of a stadt-holder. And they exhorted their fellow citizens to turn their eyes on William Henry Friso, the lineal descendant of those heroes who had established the liberty and independence of the United Provinces; extolling his virtues and talents, his ability, generosity, justice, and unshaken love of his country.

Inflamed by such representations, and their apparently desperate situation, the people rose in many places, and compelled their magistrates to declare the prince of Orange stadt-holder; a dignity which had been laid aside since the death of William III. His popularity daily increased; and at last, after being elected by several particular provinces, he was appointed, in the grand assembly of the nation, stadt-holder, captain-general, and chief admiral of the republic.

On that occasion, count Bentinck, who introduced the new stadtholder, addressed the states-general in the following words:—"The prince whom I have the honour to present "to you, will, I doubt not, tread in the steps of his glorious "ancestors; will heartily concur with us in delivering from "danger the republic now invaded, and preserve us from "the yoke of a treacherous and deceitful neighbour, who "makes a jest of good faith, honour, and the most solemn "treaties[7]."

The beneficial effects of this revolution to the common cause of the confederates soon appeared in several vigorous measures. The states immediately commanded, that no provisions or warlike stores should be exported out of their dominions, except for the use of the allied army; that a fleet should be equipped, and the militia regularly armed and disciplined. They sent agents to several German courts, to treat for the hire of thirty thousand men: a council of war was established, for enquiring into the conduct of the governors who had given up the frontier-towns; and orders

7 *Contin.* of Rapin, vol. ix.

were issued for commencing hostilities against the subjects of France, both by sea and land, though without any formal declaration of war.

During all these transactions the duke of Cumberland remained inactive, over-awed by the superior generalship, rather than the superior force, of the French commander, who still continued to watch him. At length the king of France arrived at Brussels, and it was resolved to undertake the siege of Maestricht. With that view mareschal Saxe, having called in his detachments, advanced towards Louvain in May; and the confederates, perceiving his intent, endeavoured by forced marches to gain possession of the heights of Herdeeren, an advantageous post in the neighbourhood of the threatened town. But in this they were disappointed. The enemy had seised the post before their arrival, and were preparing to rush down upon them, in order to get between their main body and Maestricht, by turning their left wing. An engagement was now unavoidable. The duke, therefore, disposed his army in order of battle, and judiciously directed some regiments of British infantry, during the night, to take possession of the village of Val in the front of his left wing, which extended to Wirle, within a few miles of Maestricht, and was composed of English, Hessians, and Hanoverians. The Austrians, who lay at Bilsen, composed the right wing; and the Dutch occupied the centre.

Affairs being thus arranged, both armies waited with impatience the approach of morning. As soon as it was light, the French cavalry made a great shew upon the heights of Herdeeren, in order to conceal the motions of their infantry; which appeared, soon after, coming down into the plain, through a valley between the hills near Rempert, formed in a vast column, of nine or ten battalions in front and as many deep, and bearing directly on Val. They suffered severely, in their approach, from the artillery of the confederates; and the British musquetry saluted them with so warm a fire, that the front of the

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column was broken and dispersed. Not discouraged by this repulse, fresh battalions advanced to the attack with alacrity and perseverance; so that the British troops in Val, overpowered by numbers, and exhausted with fatigue, were at last obliged to give way. Being, however, opportunely supported by three fresh regiments, they recovered their footing in the village, and drove out the enemy with great slaughter. The battle now wore so favourable an aspect, that the duke of Cumberland ordered the action to be made general, and victory seemed ready to declare for the confederates, when some unforeseen circumstances disappointed their hopes.

The motions of the Austrians under Bathiani were so slow as scarcely to deserve the name of action [8]; so that mareschal Saxe, apprehending no danger from that quarter, was able to turn almost the whole weight of the French army against Val, and not only to regain possession of it, after it had been three times lost and won, but to break entirely the left wing of the confederates, in spite of all the efforts of the duke of Cumberland, who exerted himself with great courage, and no inconsiderable share of conduct. The Dutch, instead of supporting the broken wing, fell back in disorder, and overthrew, in their flight, five Austrian battalions that were advancing slowly to the charge. The French followed their blow; and having routed the centre, divided the right wing of the allied army from the left. At this dangerous crisis, when mareschal Saxe hoped to cut off the retreat of the confederates, and even to make the duke of Cumberland his captive, sir John Ligonier rushed, at the head of three British

8 This inaction of the Austrian general is said to have been occasioned by the following circumstance. On the eve of the battle, when a French detachment only was supposed to have occupied the heights of Herdeeren, mareschal Bathiani asked permission of the duke of Cumberland to attack the enemy before they were reinforced, declaring he would answer for the success of the enterprise. The duke, instead of acceding to the proposal, asked him, by way of reply, where he might be found, if he should be wanted. "I shall always be found," said Bathiani, "at the head of my troops!" and retired in disgust.

regiments of dragoons and some squadrons of Austrian cavalry, upon the victorious enemy. He bore down every thing before him; and although he was himself taken prisoner from pursuing too far, he procured time for the duke to collect his scattered forces, and to retire without molestation to Maestricht. About ten thousand of the French, and five thousand of their adversaries, were killed or wounded [9].

Such was the obstinate and bloody, but partial, battle of Val, or Laffeldt, in which the British troops distinguished themselves greatly, and, if properly supported, would have obtained a complete victory. Hence the *bon mot* of Louis XV. that "the English not only paid all, but fought all!"—The action was productive of no important consequences. The duke of Cumberland, having reinforced the garrison of Maestricht, passed the Maes, and stationed his troops in the duchy of Limburg. The French army remained at Tongres, near the field of battle; and mareschal Saxe, after amusing the confederates for a while with various marches and movements, detached count Lowendahl, with thirty thousand men, to invest Bergen-op-Zoom, the strongest fortification in Dutch Brabant, and the favourite work of the famous Cohorn.

This place had never been taken, and was generally deemed impregnable; as, beside its great natural and artificial strength, it could at all times be supplied with ammunition and provisions, in spite of the besiegers, by means of two canals, called the Old and New Harbour, communicating with the Scheld, and navigable every tide. It was defended by a garrison of three thousand men, under the prince of Hesse-Philipsthal, when Lowendahl sat down before it; and the prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen, who was sent to its relief with twenty battalions and fourteen squadrons, took possession of the lines belonging to the fortification,

9 *Contin.* of Rapin, ubi sup.——London *Gazette*, July 2, 1747.

from which the garrison could be easily reinforced. As soon as the trenches were opened, old baron Cronstrom, governor of Dutch Brabant, assumed the command in the town, and preparations were made for the most vigorous defence. Lowendahl conducted his operations with great judgment and spirit; and although he lost a number of men, in his approaches, by the warm and unremitting fire of the garrison, he was so effectually and speedily reinforced, that he began very early to have hopes of success. He was even attempting to storm two of the out-forts, when lord John Murray's regiment of Highlanders, by a desperate sally, beat off the assailants, and burned some of their principal batteries. Other sallies were made with effect; mines were sprung on both sides, and every instrument of destruction employed, for the space of eight weeks. Nothing was to be seen but fire and smoke, nothing heard but the perpetual roar of bombs and cannon; the town was laid in ashes, the trenches were filled with carnage!—And the fate of Bergen-op-Zoom, on which the eyes of all Europe were fixed, seemed still doubtful, as the works were yet in a great measure entire, when Lowendahl boldly carried it by assault.

That experienced general, and great master in the art of reducing fortified places, having observed a ravelin and two bastions somewhat damaged, resolved to storm all three at once. As the breaches were not such as could be deemed practicable, the governor had taken no precaution against an assault: and that very circumstance induced Lowendahl, presuming on such negligence, to hazard the attempt. He accordingly assembled his troops in the dead of night; when only the ordinary sentinels were on duty, and the greater part of the garrison was buried in security and repose. The assault was made at four in the morning, by the French grenadiers, who threw themselves into the fosse, mounted the breaches, forced open a sally-port, and rushed into the place. The Highlanders, assembling in

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the market-place, fought like furies, till two-thirds of them were cut in pieces. But that was the only opposition the assailants met with. The troops in the lines quickly disappeared; all the forts in the neighbourhood surrendered; and the French became masters of the whole navigation of the Scheld [10].

The intelligence of this event occasioned great surprise at London, and threw the United Provinces into the utmost consternation. The joy of the French was proportionally great. As soon as Louis was informed of this success, he promoted Lowendahl to the rank of a mareschal of France; and having appointed count Saxe governor of the conquered Netherlands, he returned in triumph to Versailles. "The peace," said the penetrating and victorious governor, "lies in Maestricht [11]!"—But the siege of that important place being reserved for the next campaign, both the French and the allies went into winter-quarters, without engaging in any new enterprise.

Fortunately for the confederates, the French were not equally successful on the frontiers of Italy, during this campaign; although the mareschal de Belleisle, early in the season, saw himself at the head of a powerful army in Provence, which threatened to carry every thing before it. He passed the Var in April, and took possession of Nice. He reduced Montalban, Villafranca, and Ventimiglia, almost without resistance, and obliged the Austrians, under count Brown, to retire toward Final and Savona. Nor were these the most important consequences of his expedition.

The court of Vienna, enraged at the revolt of the Genoese, resolved to reduce them again to subjection, and severely to chastise the capital of the republic. Count Schuylemberg was accordingly ordered to invest Genoa with a great army of Austrians and Piedmontese. Meanwhile the king of France, sensible of the importance of that city to the cause of

[10] Voltaire.——Millot.——Smollet. [11] *Mem. de Saxe.*

the house of Bourbon, had remitted large sums to put it in a posture of defence; and, beside engineers and officers to discipline the troops of the republic, he sent thither four thousand five hundred men, under the duke de Boufflers, for the greater security of the place, and to animate the Genoese to a bold resistance. The design took effect. The citizens of Genoa resolved to perish rather than again submit to the Austrians. But the force sent against them made their fate very doubtful.

Schuylemberg, having forced the passage of the Bochetta, entered the territories of Genoa, and appeared before the capital at the head of forty thousand men. As the inhabitants obstinately refused to lay down their arms, and even treated with derision the proposal of submitting to the clemency of the court of Vienna, the place was regularly invested; and although the Genoese and the French behaved with great spirit in several sallies, the Austrian general conducted his operations with so much skill, vigour, and intrepidity, that he must at last have accomplished his enterprise, had not his attention been diverted to another quarter. Alarmed at the progress of Belleisle, the king of Sardinia and count Brown represented to Schuylemberg the necessity of raising the siege of Genoa, in order to cover Piedmont and Lombardy. He therefore drew off his army, and joined his Sardinian majesty, to the great joy of the Genoese; who, in revenge of the injuries they had suffered, ravaged the duchies of Parma and Placentia[12].

The apprehensions of the king of Sardinia for his hereditary dominions were by no means groundless. While the mareschal de Belleisle lay at Ventimiglia, his brother, the chevalier, attempted to penetrate into Piedmont, by the way of Dauphiné, at the head of thirty thousand French and Spaniards, emulous of glory under so gallant a leader. When he arrived at the pass of Exilles, a strong post on the north

[12] *Mem. de Noailles*, tome iv.——*Contin.* of Rapin, vol. ix.

side of the Doria, he found fourteen battalions of Piedmontese and Austrians waiting for him, behind ramparts of wood and stone, lined with artillery : and all the passes of the Alps were secured by detachments of the same troops. Not discouraged by these obstacles, the chevalier attacked the Piedmontese entrenchments with great intrepidity. But he was repulsed with loss in three successive assaults ; and being determined to perish rather than survive a miscarriage, he seized a pair of colours, and advancing at the head of his troops, through an incessant fire, planted them with his own hand on the enemy's battlements[13]. At that instant he fell dead, having received the thrust of a bayonet and two musquet-balls in his body. Some other officers of distinction were killed ; and the survivors, discouraged by the loss of their brave commander, retired with precipitation, leaving behind them above four thousand slain.

The mareschal de Belleisle was no sooner informed of his brother's fate, than he retreated toward the Var to join the unfortunate army from Exilles. About the same time, the king of Sardinia, having assembled an army of seventy thousand men, threatened Dauphiné with an invasion. But excessive rains prevented the execution of the enterprise ; and the campaign was closed without any other memorable event.

The naval transactions of this year were more favourable to Great Britain than those of any other during the war. Her success was great almost beyond example, but more advantageous than glorious, as she had a manifest superiority of force in every engagement. The English fleet under the admirals Anson and Warren, consisting of eleven sail of the line, three ships of fifty, and one of forty guns, fell in with a French fleet of six sail of the line, in the beginning of May,

[13] Voltaire represents him as attempting to pull up the palisades with his teeth, after being wounded in both arms. This is a perfectly ludicrous image, and, even if we admit the assumed fact to be true, utterly inconsistent with the dignity of history. But it is by no means uncommon, even with the best French writers, to excite laughter, when they attempt the sublime.

off Cape Finisterre. The French fleet was commanded by M. de la Jonquiere and St. George, who had under their convoy thirty ships laden with stores and merchandise, bound for America and the East Indies. The battle began about four in the afternoon: and although the French seamen and commanders behaved with extraordinary courage, and discovered no want of conduct, six ships of war and four armed Indiamen were taken. About seven weeks after this engagement, and nearly in the same latitude, commodore Fox fell in with a fleet from St. Domingo, laden with the rich productions of that fertile island; and forty-six vessels became prizes to the English.

Admiral Hawke was no less successful. He sailed from Plymouth in the summer, with fourteen ships of the line, to intercept a fleet of French merchantmen bound for the West Indies. He cruised for some time off the coast of Bretagne; and at last the French fleet sailed from the isle of Aix, under convoy of nine ships of the line, besides frigates, commanded by Letendeur. On the 14th of October, the two squadrons came within sight of each other, about seven in the morning, in the latitude of Belleisle. By noon both were engaged. The battle lasted till night, when six French ships of the line had struck to the British flag [14]. The rest escaped under cover of the darkness; having all maintained, with great obstinacy, a gallant but unequal fight.

These naval victories, and the sailing of admiral Boscawen, with a strong squadron and a considerable body of land-forces, for the East Indies, where it was conjectured he would not only recover Madras but reduce Pondicherry, disposed Louis seriously to think of peace, and even to listen to moderate terms, notwithstanding the great superiority of his arms in the Low Countries. Other causes conspired to the same effect. His finances were almost exhausted: the

[14] London *Gazette*, Oct. 26, 1747.

French trade was alarmingly injured; and he could no longer depend upon supplies from the mines of Mexico and Peru, in the present low state of the French and Spanish navy. The success of his arms in Italy had fallen infinitely short of his expectation; and the republic of Genoa, though a necessary, was become an expensive ally. His views had been totally defeated in Germany, by the elevation of the grand duke to the imperial throne, and the subsequent pacification between the houses of Austria, Bavaria, and Brandenburg. He was still victorious in the Netherlands: but the election of a stadt-holder, by uniting the force of the states-general against him, left little hope of future conquests in that quarter; especially as the British parliament, whose resources were yet copious, and whose liberality seemed to know no bounds, had enabled their sovereign to conclude a subsidiary treaty with the empress of Russia, who engaged to hold in readiness an army of thirty thousand men, and forty galleys, to be employed in the service of the confederates, on the first requisition.

Influenced by these considerations, the king of France made advances toward an accommodation both at London and the Hague; and, as all parties, the subsidiary powers excepted, were heartily tired of the war, it was agreed to open a new congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, as soon as the plenipotentiaries could receive their instructions.

A. D. 1748.

In the mean time, vigorous preparations for war were made in every quarter; but the preliminaries of a general pacification were signed at Aix-la-Chapelle, and a cessation of arms took place, before any enterprise of consequence was undertaken, except the siege of Maestricht. Mareschal Saxe, having invested that important place in the spring, concerted his measures with so much judgment, that Lowendahl was enabled to carry on his operations without interruption, though the army of the confederates, under the duke of Cumberland, to the number of a hundred and ten thousand men, lay in the neighbourhood. The town was

defended by twenty-four battalions of Dutch and Austrian troops, commanded by baron d'Aylva, who opposed the besiegers with great skill and resolution. They prosecuted their approaches, however, with extreme ardour; and effected, at last, a lodgment in the covered way, after an obstinate dispute, in which they lost two thousand of their best troops. But they were dislodged, on the following day, by the spirit of the garrison, which acquired fresh courage from this success.

Such was the doubtful, and even unfavourable state of the siege of Maestricht, when intelligence arrived of the signing of the preliminaries, and orders for a cessation of arms. Yet was it agreed by the plenipotentiaries, that, "for the glory "of the arms of his most Christian majesty," the place should be immediately surrendered to his general, but restored, on the conclusion of the peace, with all its magazines and artillery. Mareschal Saxe accordingly took possession of Maestricht, while the garrison marched out with the customary honours of war.

But although the negociation was thus far advanced in the beginning of summer, so many were the difficulties started by the ministers of the different powers, that it was the month of October before matters could be finally settled. Meanwhile hostilities were carried on both in the East and West Indies; but no memorable event took place. Admiral Boscawen failed in an attempt to reduce the French settlement of Pondicherry, on the coast of Coromandel; as did also admiral Knowles, in an attack upon St. Jago de Cuba. Knowles, however, took Port Louis, on the south side of Hispaniola, and demolished the fortifications. He also defeated, off the Havanna, a Spanish squadron of equal force with his own, and took one ship of the line. At length the definitive treaty was signed, and hostilities ceased in all quarters[15].

Oct. 7.

15 *Contin.* of Rapin, vol. ix.

This treaty had for its basis a general confirmation of all preceding treaties from that of Westphalia downward, and, for its immediate object, a mutual restitution of all conquests made since the beginning of the war, with a release of prisoners without ransom. The principal stipulations provided, that the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, should be ceded, as a sovereignty, to Don Philip, and the heirs male of his body; (but it was also stipulated, that, if he or his descendants should succeed to the crown of Spain or that of the Two Sicilies, or die without male issue, those territories should return to the present possessors, the queen of Hungary and the king of Sardinia, or their descendants;) that the subjects of his Britannic majesty should enjoy the Assiento, with the privilege of the annual ship, during the reversionary term of four years, which had been suspended by the war; (but no mention was made of the right of English ships to navigate the American seas without being subject to search, though the indignation occasioned by the violation of that contested right had solely given rise to the war between Great Britain and Spain:) that all the contracting powers should guaranty to his Prussian majesty the duchy of Silesia and thecounty of Glatz; and that the Pragmatic Sanction should be solemnly confirmed, with the exception of the cessions made by this and former treaties.

Such was the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which has been so generally, and so unjustly censured by English writers, who ought rather to have censured the wanton war, and the wasteful and unskilful manner of conducting it. The peace was as good as the confederates had any right to expect. They had been, upon the whole, exceedingly unfortunate. They had never hazarded a battle, in the Netherlands, without sustaining a defeat; and there was no prospect of their being more successful, had they even been reinforced with the thirty thousand Russians hired, while the same generals commanded on both sides. But matters were so ill managed, that the Russians could not have joined them till the season

of action would have been nearly over; and had they been ready more early, it is believed that the king of Prussia would have interposed, from a jealousy of the aggrandisement of the house of Austria, on whose embarrassments he depended for the quiet possession of his conquests. The resources of France were indeed nearly exhausted:—and Louis made sacrifices proportioned to his necessities. But great as his necessities were, he could have continued the war another year; and the progress of his arms during one campaign, it was feared, might awe the Dutch into submission. A confederacy, always ill combined, would have been broken to pieces; and the hostile powers, left separately at the mercy of the house of Bourbon, must have acceded to worse conditions; or England must have hired new armies of mercenaries, to continue a ruinous continental war, in which she had properly no interest.

But although the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, all circumstances considered, cannot be deemed unfavourable to the confederates, or by any means an ill-timed measure, it must be lamented, that it was the necessary consequence of such a long and fruitless war—of a war, singular in the annals of mankind; by which, after a prodigious destruction of the human species, and a variety of turns of fortune, all parties (the king of Prussia excepted, whose selfish and temporising policy it is impossible to justify) may be said to have been losers[16].

This reflection more particularly strikes us, in contem-

[16] The settlement, procured for Don Philip in Italy, might have been obtained on the death of the emperor Charles VI. if the house of Bourbon had confined its views merely to that object; and, even if it could not, it was by no means an equivalent for the expences and losses of the two branches of that house, by land and sea, during the course of the war. The king of Sardinia, after all his subsidies, and some cessions made to him, was a loser; and the queen of Hungary could have dictated better conditions in 1742, when the French were driven out of Bohemia, than those to which she at last acceded. Even the king of Prussia obtained no more than was ceded to him by the treaty of Breslau, concluded in the same year.

plating the infatuation of France and Great Britain; of the former, in lavishing such a quantity of blood and treasure, with a view of giving an emperor to Germany; and of the latter, in neglecting her most essential interests, in withdrawing her attention from Spanish America, and loading her subjects with an immense public debt, in order to preserve entire the succession of the house of Austria! but more especially the folly of both in continuing the war, for several years, after the object of it was lost on one side, and attained on the other. Nor can we, as Englishmen, in taking such a survey, avoid looking back, with peculiar regret, to the peaceful administration of sir Robert Walpole; when the commerce and manufactures of Great Britain flourished in so high a degree, that the balance of trade in her favour amounted annually, on an average, to four millions sterling[17].

Let us not however, my dear Philip, dwell wholly on the dark side of the picture. So great an influx of wealth, without any extraordinary expenditure, or call to bold enterprise, must soon have produced a total dissolution of manners; and the British nation, overwhelmed with luxury and effeminacy, might have sunk into an early decline. The martial spirit, which seemed to languish for want of exercise, was revived by the war. The English navy, which had been suffered to go to decay, was restored, and that of France in a great measure ruined. This last advantage was, in itself, worth many millions of treasure: and it was eventually productive of a multitude of beneficial consequences. A desire of re-establishing their marine was one of the chief motives that induced the French ministry to grant favourable conditions to the confederates at Aix-la-Chapelle, as they had already formed the design of extending their settlements both in America and the East Indies.

17 Chalmers' *Estimate*, p. 37.

LETTER XXXI.

History of France, Spain, and Great Britain, from the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle to the Renewal of Hostilities in 1755, with a general View of the Disputes in the East Indies, and a particular Account of the Rise of the War in America.

THE few years of peace, that followed the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, appear to have been the most prosperous and happy that Europe had ever known. Arts and letters were successfully cultivated; manufactures and commerce flourished; society was highly polished; and the intercourse of mankind, of nations and of ranks, was rendered more facile and general than in any former period, by means of new roads, new vehicles, and new amusements. This was more especially the case in France and England, and between the people of the two rival kingdoms; who, forgetting past animosities, seemed only to contend for pre-eminence in gaiety, refinement, and mutual civilities.

That harmony, however, was disturbed for a time, by alarming tumults in England, and by a violent dispute between the clergy and the parliaments of France, which threatened a rebellion in the two kingdoms. But both subsided without any important or lasting consequence. The first were the effects of the wantonness of the common people of England, rioting in opulence and plenty, and not sufficiently restrained by a regular police: the second, the indication of a rising spirit of liberty among the more enlightened part of the French laity; as I shall have occasion to shew, in treating of the progress of society[1]. In the

[1] See LETT. XXXVI.

mean time, the two governments turned on each other a watchful eye; and a long season of tranquillity was expected from the awe with which one half of Europe seemed to inspire the other.

The French ministry had formed the plan of dispossessing the English of their principal settlements both in America and the East Indies, or at least of considerably extending their own, when they concluded the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. In these ambitious projects they were encouraged by two able and enterprising men—la Galissoniere, governor of Canada, and Dupleix, governor of Pondicherry. But in order to ensure success in such distant expeditions, it was necessary for France to restore her marine, and even to raise it, if possible, to a superiority over that of Great Britain. With this view, prodigious efforts were made: naval stores were imported from all the northern kingdoms; a great number of ships were built at Brest and Toulon; and contracts were adjusted with different companies in Sweden, for building eighteen sail of the line.

But nothing is attended with so much expence as the raising or restoring a navy. The French finances, though recruiting fast, were not equal to the extraordinary drain. Repeated attempts were therefore made, by the leading men in France, to engage the court of Spain, whose American treasures were now out of danger of being seised, to enter into their ambitious views; and proposals for a family-compact, such as has since been formed, were exhibited to the Spanish ministry by the duke de Duras, the French ambassador at the court of Madrid, under the direction of the duke de Noailles. A. D. 1753.

When the duke de Duras insisted on the importance of an union between the two crowns, he was told that such an union was already established by the treaty of Fontainbleau. The duke was unacquainted with the particulars of that agreement; and Saint Contest, the French minister for foreign affairs, seemed inclined to keep him in the dark; but the duke de

Noailles furnished him with a copy of it, accompanied with observations, which may be considered as the basis of the formidable family-compact afterwards concluded. He maintained, that the treaty of Fontainbleau—almost all the articles of which referred to the late war, and the execution of which, in various points (such as the recovery of Minorca and Gibraltar for Spain), had been rendered impracticable by circumstances—was in a manner annulled by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; that a true family-compact—such as it was equally the interest of France and Spain to contract for their mutual advantage, which should have for its objects the securing the two branches of the house of Bourbon on the two thrones, the preservation of their dominions, the glory and greatness of both kingdoms—ought not only to be irrevocable, but independent of time and circumstances, and unaffected either by peace or war [2].

These intrigues, however, were defeated by the penetration, vigilance, and address of Mr. Keene, the British minister at Madrid, supported by the credit of the judicious and intelligent Mr. Wall, a gentleman of Irish extraction, who had long been ambassador from the court of Spain to that of Great Britain; and by the still more powerful influence of Farinelli, the Italian singer, who entirely governed the queen, a princess of Portugal, whose ascendant over her husband was absolute and uncontrollable.

The naturally pacific Ferdinand, though well affected toward the elder branch of his family, was thus induced to disregard all the splendid allurements of the court of Versailles, and all insinuations to the disadvantage of that of Great Britain, as insidious attempts to draw him into a new war. In answer to a memorial presented by the

A. D. 1754. French ambassador, on the subject of the family-compact, and accompanied with a letter, in which Louis

[2] *Mem. Politiq. et Militaires, composés sur les Pièces Originales (recueillies par Adrien Maurice, duc de Noailles)*, *par M. l'Abbé* Millot, tome iv.

mentioned the extraordinary patience with which he had suffered the unjust proceedings of England for four years, the Catholic king declared, that he was sensible of the importance of the harmony between the two crowns, and between the two branches of the house of Bourbon; but having always an eye to the general tranquillity of Europe, and the jealousy which a formal compact would excite, he thought it the interest of the two monarchies to avoid such a measure; and that the differences with England would be better composed, through the mediation of the allied powers, than by a threatening league[3].

Withdrawing his heart wholly from ambition, the Spanish monarch therefore placed all his glory in reviving commerce, and encouraging arts and manufactures, too long neglected among his subjects. He disgraced his prime minister Ensenada, for having endeavoured, in concert with the queen-dowager, to alter his measures; and Wall being placed at the head of the administration, the same wise and pacific measures were pursued during the subsequent part of the reign of Ferdinand.

The disgrace of Ensenada baffled the ambitious schemes of the court of Versailles; but the French ministry had already gone too far, to be tamely forgiven by Great Britain. They were sensible of it; and as their navy was not yet in full force, they attempted, though too late, to disarm resentment, and conciliate favour, by an hypocritical appearance of moderation. Their views were obvious to all Europe. And when they found they could no longer deceive or soothe George II., they hoped to intimidate him by threatening his German dominions, imagining that the apprehension of this danger would occasion his winking at their encroachments in America, until they were in a condition to avow their purpose. But, before we enter upon that subject, some other topics must be discussed. A view must be taken of

3 *Mem. de Noailles*, ubi supra.

the state of the settlements of the rival powers in both extremities of the globe.

Though Madras was restored to the English East-India company, and Louisbourg to the French monarchy, agreeably to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, hostilities between the subjects of France and England could not properly be said to have ceased, either in North America or the East Indies. The taking of those two settlements, and the ineffectual attempts to recover them, had irritated the spirit of the two nations. And plans were laid by each, as we have seen, during the latter years of the war, for the conquest of the principal settlements belonging to the other, both in the East Indies and in North America. But those plans proved abortive. And all such ambitious projects seem to have been relinquished on the part of Great Britain, at the peace; for although she unwillingly gave up Louisbourg, her reluctance to its restitution proceeded less from any purpose of extending her possessions in North America, than from an apprehension of the injuries and inconveniences to which it would again expose her colonies, in case of a new war. The views of France were very different, when she, with no less reluctance, restored Madras.

M. Dupleix, governor of Pondicherry, having gallantly defended that place against the British armament under Boscawen, in 1748, immediately conceived the great idea of acquiring for France large territorial possessions in the south of Asia, and even of reducing, by degrees, the whole peninsula of India Proper. On the two sides of that vast country, which projects into the sea to the extent of a thousand miles, and occupies the space between the widely-separated mouths of the Indus and the Ganges, the European companies have established many factories. The west side is called the Malabar, and the east the Coromandel coast. The greater part of this valuable territory was long ruled by the descendants of Timour; but the successors of the Mogul Aurengzeb had sunk into a state of indolence

and effeminacy; and, since the irruption of the famous Kouli Khan in 1738, had possessed so little authority, that all the great officers of the crown had become in a manner independent princes. The *soubahdars*, or Mohammedan viceroys of the *soubahs* or provinces; the *nabobs*, or governors of inferior districts; and even the *rajahs*, or tributary Hindoo princes, now began to consider themselves as absolute sovereigns; paying to the Mogul emperors any homage they thought proper, and frequently making war on one another.

The better to carry his grand scheme into execution, Dupleix formed the project of making soubahdars and nabobs, and even of becoming a nabob himself. In this project he was encouraged by his own situation and the circumstances of the times. The late war had brought a number of French troops to Pondicherry, and the state of affairs in India seemed highly propitious to his views.

The soubahdary of the Dekan having become vacant in 1748, and being claimed by different competitors, Dupleix and his associates, after a series of bold enterprises and remarkable events, in which the intrepidity of the French, the abject condition of the natives, and the weakness and corruption of the court of Dehli, were equally conspicuous, procured that dignity, in 1750, for Muzafa Jung, by the assassination of Nazir Jung. The usurper, early in the following year, was defeated and slain by the nabobs of Cadapah and Condanore, and was succeeded by Salabat Jung.

Before this transfer of the soubahdary, Dupleix had strenuously laboured to procure the nabobship of the Carnatic, in which Pondicherry is situated, for a man whose attachment and submission might be depended upon. The person singled out for that purpose was Chunda Saheb, son-in-law to a former nabob, whom he had hoped to succeed. But the court of Dehli disappointed his ambition, by bestowing the nabobship upon Anver-ud-din Khan, an aged prince, whose

fortune had undergone a variety of revolutions. Through the intrigues of Dupleix, however, and the assistance of French troops, Chunda Saheb vanquished his rival (who fell in battle), and obtained a grant of the disputed government from Muzafa Jung.

The new nabob vigorously supported the French in their usurpations. They became masters of a very extensive territory on the coast of Coromandel; and Dupleix had even the address to get himself appointed nabob of the Carnatic during the life of Chunda Saheb. And he and his associates in the East, encouraged in their ambitious views by the court of Versailles (though afterward timidly abandoned by it), proposed to obtain from the Great Mogul, or from the soubahdar of the Dekan, a cession of the capital of the Portuguese settlements on the coast of Malabar, and to seise the whole country that lies, in a triangular form, between Masulipatam, Goa, and Cape Comorin[4].

In the mean time, Mohammed Ali, son of the late nabob of Arcot, having taken shelter in Trichinopoly, implored the assistance of the English, with whom his father had lived in friendship. And, to induce them to espouse his cause, he represented that his and their interests were intimately connected; that their danger was common, as the French, if suffered to proceed in their conquests, would soon make themselves masters of all the Carnatic. He was accordingly favoured with a reinforcement under Laurence, a brave and experienced officer; and he afterward entered into a close alliance with the English East-India company, to which he gave up some commercial points, of no small moment, that had been long disputed. In consideration of this alliance, he received a reinforcement under captain Cope; and se-

4 These ambitious projects are owned by Voltaire, Raynal, and other French authors. And Mr. Orme, one of the most judicious English writers on the affairs of India, imputes to Dupleix yet more extensive plans of dominion.

veral actions took place, with great diversity of fortune. At length, in the campaign of 1751, a great military character appeared on that theatre where he was destined to make so distinguished a figure.

This was the famous Clive, who had gone to India as a *writer* or accomptant to the company, and was at that time commissary of the army. He proposed to divide the French force, by attacking Arcot, the capital of the province. Being furnished with one hundred and thirty European soldiers, he repaired to Madras; and when he had been reinforced, he happily accomplished his enterprise. Arcot was taken. But before the victor had leisure to secure his conquest, or to provide for a retreat, he was besieged in the place by a considerable army under the son of Chunda Saheb.

The ruin of captain Clive and his brave associates seemed now inevitable; and the more timid began to represent it (as posterity certainly would, if it had taken place) as the natural consequence, and just punishment, of his presumptuous rashness. By his courage and conduct, however, he repelled all the efforts of the assailants, who were constrained to relinquish their enterprise after a vigorous siege of fifty days[5]. This defence is memorable in the annals of war. It was maintained with wonderful intrepidity and perseverance against greatly superior numbers, provided with skilful engineers, by a handful of men, under a young commander, who was in a great measure ignorant of the military science, but whose genius suggested such resources as would have been employed by the greatest masters in the art of defending fortified places.

Reinforced by captain Kirkpatrick, Clive pursued the enemy; and coming up with them in the plains of Arni, gained a complete victory; but this success did not put an end to the war; for the French and Chunda Saheb quickly

[5] Orme's *Hist. of the military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan*, book iii.

assembled a new army, while the English, who persevered in supporting Mohammed Ali, were joined by the rajah of Tanjore and other princes. Major Laurence assumed the chief command of the company's troops; and Clive, who shared his confidence, acted under him, and continued to give fresh proofs of his military genius. The whole peninsula of India rang with the din of arms, and some of its finest provinces were laid waste. At length, after a variety of efforts, the French and their associates were effectually humbled; and Chunda Saheb being made prisoner by the rajah of Tanjore, that prince, with cruel policy, commanded his head to be struck off, in order to prevent future disputes.

In consequence of this success, the French were stripped of many of their late acquisitions. Mohammed Ali remained undisputed nabob of Arcot; and the ambitious and enterprising Dupleix being recalled in 1754, a cessation of arms took place between the hostile powers, as a prelude to a treaty of peace. A conditional treaty was accordingly negociated, by which the French and English companies agreed to renounce all oriental government and dignity; never to interfere in any disputes that might arise between the princes of the country; and to deliver up all places, except such as were particularly stipulated to remain in the possession of each company, to the government of Hindostan [6]. These stipulations it is unnecessary to enumerate, as they were never fulfilled. Before this treaty had received the sanction of the two companies in Europe, a new war between the two nations broke out in another quarter of the globe.

The province of Nova Scotia was ceded to Great Britain, as we have seen, at the peace of Utrecht. But the soil being reputed barren, and the climate intensely cold, only a few English families settled in that much-contested country, notwithstanding its advantageous situation for the fishing trade, and its abounding in naval stores; so that the French

6 Orme's *Hist.* book iii.

inhabitants, having taken the oath of allegiance to their new sovereign, continued to enjoy their possessions, their civil and religious privileges, under the British government, which exacted from them neither rent nor taxes. As they were exempted from the obligation of carrying arms against the subjects of his most Christian majesty, they assumed to themselves the appellation of *neutrals*. This peaceful character, which they were bound by every tie of honour and gratitude to maintain, they shamefully violated in 1746, when France attempted to regain possession of the country. Their conduct on that occasion, though not altogether hostile, was inconsistent with their political situation, and sufficiently shewed the necessity of peopling Nova Scotia with British subjects; as well to secure its dependence as a colony, as to render it beneficial to the mother-country; the neutrals being clandestinely supplied with French commodities from Canada and Cape Breton[7].

The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which left a number of men, belonging to the sea and land service, without employment, was highly favourable to such a project. The British ministry accordingly offered great encouragement to all soldiers, sailors, artificers, and reduced officers, who were willing to settle in Nova Scotia. Beside the grant of land, government engaged to pay the charge of their passage, to build houses for them, furnish them with all the necessary utensils for husbandry and the fishery, and defray the expence of subsistence for the first year. In consequence of this liberality, about three thousand families, including many German protestants, embarked for Nova Scotia. The town of Halifax, intended as a naval and military station, was built, and the harbour fortified.

Now it was that the disputes between France and England, concerning the limits of Nova Scotia (which had not hitherto been distinctly settled, by reason of its neglected

7 *Contin.* of Rapin, vol. ix.

condition), began to be warmly agitated by the commissaries of the two crowns. And new disputes, still more important, arose, with regard to the boundaries of the British provinces to the southward, on which the French had attempted systematically to encroach. Their plan was to unite Canada and Louisiana by a chain of forts, and to circumscribe the English colonies within that tract of country which lies between the Alleghany or Apalachian mountains and the sea. This matter will require some elucidation.

Though the British colonists had made few settlements beyond those mountains, the inhabitants of Virginia always considered the extent of their country towards the west to be in a manner unlimited, as it had been settled before the French had even discovered Louisiana. Nor did the people of the two Carolinas ever doubt that they might extend their plantations to the banks of the Missisippi, without encroaching on the property of any European nation. Their only care was to quiet the jealousy of the Indians, who were apt to take alarm at any settlement in the back country, as an invasion of that portion of their native soil which the ambition of the Europeans had still left them, and which they seemed determined to preserve, with the last drop of their blood, in a state of savage nature, for the purposes of the chase, their favourite amusement, and, beside war, their sole occupation. Toward the north, the boundaries of the British colonies, those of Nova Scotia excepted, were better understood, as the province of Canada, on which they bordered, had been longer settled than Louisiana ; yet on our northern colonies the French had made encroachments with impunity.

In consequence of those encroachments, and others which seemed necessary to complete her ambitious plan, France would have enjoyed, in time of peace, the whole Indian trade; and the English colonies, in time of war, must have had a frontier of twelve hundred miles to defend against bloodthirsty savages, conducted by French officers, and supported

by disciplined troops. It was in effect to attempt the extinction of the British settlements. And yet, without such interior communication as was projected between Canada and Louisiana, the French settlements, on the Missisippi and the St. Laurence, could never, it was said, attain any high degree of consequence or security; the navigation of one of those rivers being at all seasons difficult, and that of the other blocked up with ice, during the winter months, so as to preclude exterior support or relief.

This scheme of usurpation, which is supposed to have long occupied the deliberations of the court of Versailles, was ardently embraced by M. de la Jonquiere, now commander in chief of the French forces in North America, and by la Galissoniere, a man of a bold and enterprising spirit, who had been appointed governor of New France in 1747. By their joint efforts, in addition to those of their predecessors, forts were erected along the Great Lakes, which communicate with the river St. Laurence, and also on the Ohio and the Missisippi. The vast chain was almost completed, from Quebec to New Orleans, when the court of England, roused by repeated injuries, broke off the conferences relative to the limits of Nova Scotia.

These discussions had been artfully protracted and perplexed by the commissaries of the court of France. They aimed at confining the province of Nova Scotia to that peninsula which is formed by the bay of Fundy, the Atlantic Ocean, and the Gulf of St. Laurence; while the English commissaries made it extend to Pentagoet, on the west, and to the banks of the river St. Laurence, on the north, and proved, by incontrovertible arguments, that these were its real limits—boundaries which the French themselves had marked out, when it was restored to them by treaty, under the name of l'Acadie[8].

During those unavailing disputes, the French were carrying on their encroachments in America, with great boldness,

[8] *Mod. Univ. Hist.* vol. xv. fol. edit.——Smollett's *Hist. of Eng.* vol. xii.

in different quarters. The rising settlement of Halifax, which they foresaw was intended as a bridle upon them, particularly excited their jealousy; and the active and vigilant governor of Canada, beside erecting several forts within the disputed limits of Nova Scotia, had instigated, first the Indians, and afterward the French neutrals, to take up arms against the British government. Hostilities were likewise commenced on the banks of the Ohio, where the French surprised a fortified post of some importance, called Log's-town, which the Virginians had established for the convenience of the Indian trade; and, after pillaging its warehouses of skins and European goods to the amount of twenty thousand pounds, under pretence that it was within the government of New France, which comprehended in its jurisdiction both Canada and Louisiana, they murdered all the English inhabitants except two, who fortunately escaped to relate the melancholy tale. About the same time, M. de Dontrecœur, with a thousand men and eighteen pieces of cannon, embarked at Venango, a French fort on the banks of the Ohio, and reduced another British post, erected by the Virginians on the forks of the Monaungahela.

Intelligence of these hostilities having reached England, orders were sent to the governors of her colonies to drive the French from their usurpations in Nova Scotia, and repress all their encroachments. But experience soon made the British ministry sensible of the great superiority of the military strength of their enemies in North America; a superiority arising from the original constitution of the colonies of the two rival kingdoms, and other concurring circumstances. The government of New France, being moved by one spring, was capable of more vigorous efforts than the powerful but separate governments belonging to Great Britain. The interests of the English colonies were often contradictory: they had frequent disputes with each other, concerning their boundaries; and the inhabitants (little habituated to arms, and divided by religious feuds) were almost

continually quarreling with their governors, and disputing, on urgent as well as trivial occasions, the prerogatives of the crown or the rights of the proprietary, as their governments happened to be constituted; in one colony verging toward monarchy, in another bordering on democracy. This want of concert, which had often rendered our more wealthy and populous colonies inadequate to their own defence against a naturally inferior enemy, had long been lamented by the more enlightened part of the inhabitants, and was well understood by the French[9]. To remedy so palpable a political defect, two measures seemed necessary; namely, a confederacy among all the British governments on the continent of North America, and an alliance with the most considerable Indian nations in their neighbourhood.

As a preliminary step toward such a league, the governor of New York, accompanied by deputies from the other colonies, gave a meeting to the Iroquois, or *the Indians of the Five Nations*, at Albany. But only a few of their chiefs attended; and it was evident that even those were much cooled in their affection to the English government. This change was occasioned by the powerful but secret influence of the French agents, who had lately employed the most artful means to corrupt the savages. To counteract their intrigues with the Five Nations, valuable presents were made, in the name of his Britannic majesty, to such of the Indian chiefs as had thought proper to attend; and liberal promises to the whole. They refused, however, "to take up the "hatchet,"—their phrase for going to war. They could only be induced to declare, that they were willing to renew their treaties with the king of England, and hoped he would assist them in driving the French from the places they had usurped in the back country.

9 It was on this principle, and the military spirit of the French colonists, that the old and experienced duke de Noailles encouraged, by memorials, the court of Versailles in its ambitious projects in North America, though under colour of providing for the security of its own settlements. *Mem.* tome iv.

Encouraged even by so slight an indication of friendship, and by the ardour of the people of the different colonies for war, a resolution was adopted by the general assembly at Albany, to support the British claims in every quarter of North America. In consequence of this resolution, major Washington, a provincial officer, was dispatched from Virginia, with four hundred men, to watch the motions of the French, and recover, if opportunity should offer, the places they had taken upon the Ohio. Washington encamped on the banks of that river, where he threw up some works for his security, and hoped to be able at least to defend himself until he should receive a reinforcement, which was speedily expected from New York.

In the mean time, de Villier, the French commandant on the Monaungahela, having in vain summoned Washington to abandon his post, marched up to his entrenchments, at the head of eight hundred men, and attempted to carry the works by assault. But Washington defended himself with so much intrepidity, as to render all the efforts of the enemy abortive: and he obtained honourable terms for himself and his detachment. It was agreed that both parties should retire; the English toward Will's Creek, and the French toward the Monaungahela. But scarcely were the articles signed, when a fresh body of French and Indians appeared; and although de Villier pretended to adhere to his engagements, he very patiently suffered the Indians to harass the English in their retreat, and even to plunder their baggage[10].

When the courts of London and Versailles obtained intelligence of those violent proceedings, both were sensible that a rupture had become inevitable. France continued to send reinforcements of men, and supplies of money and stores to Canada, for the prosecution of her ambitious projects; and orders were sent by Great Britain to her colonial governors to arm the militia, and use their utmost endeavours

[10] *Mod. Univ. Hist.*

to repel the hostile attempts of the enemy, until troops could be sent from England. But, while they thus prepared to cut with the sword the Gordian knot of a long and intricate negociation, the ministers of the two kingdoms breathed nothing but peace, and exchanged, in the name of their masters, reciprocal professions of good-will. At length, however, undoubted information having been received in England, that a powerful armament, destined for America, was ready to sail from Brest and Rochefort, an end was put to dissimulation. A. D. 1755.

Roused at this information, the British government sent out admiral Boscawen, who, having taken on board two regiments of soldiers, sailed from Plymouth with eleven ships of the line and one frigate. He directed his course to the banks of Newfoundland; and, a few days after his arrival there, the French fleet from Brest, under the command of M. de la Mothe, came to the same latitude, in its passage to Quebec. But the thick fogs, which prevail on those banks, especially in the spring season, prevented the hostile fleets from seeing each other; so that a part of the French fleet made its way immediately by the Gulf of St. Laurence, to Quebec, whilst the other division passed through the dangerous strait of Belle-isle, and also reached the place of its destination. Two French ships of the line, however, the Alcide and the Lys, being separated in the fog from both divisions of the fleet, were taken off Cape Race, the most southerly point of Newfoundland, by two vessels of the English squadron.

Although the capture of these two ships, with which the war with France may be said to have commenced, fell greatly short of the expectations formed from the English armament, it served nevertheless to animate the nation. The people now saw that the government was determined to temporise no longer, but to repel with vigour the future encroachments of the French upon the British settlements, and also to chastise them for their past violences. Nor did the

Americans fail to exert a proper spirit. The governor and assembly of Massachuset's Bay, the chief of the New-England provinces, had passed an act, prohibiting all intercourse with the French at Louisbourg; and they now sent a body of troops to the assistance of Mr. Laurence, governor of Nova Scotia, in order to enable him to complete the execution of a plan he had formed for driving the French from the posts they had usurped in that province. The enemy had foreseen this attempt, and made preparations to resist it, though without effect. A detachment of regulars and provincials, under lieutenant-colonel Monckton, quickly reduced all the French forts, and restored tranquillity to Nova Scotia.

The British arms were less successful in other parts. While Monckton was employed in Nova Scotia, preparations had been made in Virginia for attacking the French posts upon the Ohio. The conduct of this expedition was committed to major-general Braddock, who had been sent from England for that purpose, early in the season, with two regiments of foot. After a mortifying delay of some months, occasioned by the negligence of the contractors, he passed the Alleghany mountains at the head of two thousand two hundred men, and rapidly advanced toward Fort du Quesne, the chief object of his enterprise. Being informed, during his march, that the garrison of that fort, which had been lately built on the Ohio near its conflux with the Monaungahela, expected a reinforcement of regular troops, he left colonel Dunbar, with eight hundred men, to bring up his heavy baggage, and proceeded with the main body, for the sake of greater expedition. But unfortunately, through this haste, he did not take sufficient care to reconnoitre the savage country, with which he was as little acquainted as with the nature of an American war, where the danger of surprise is perpetual in woods, defiles, and morasses. And he was too proud to ask the advice of the provincial officers, for whom he entertained a sovereign contempt, although Hyde Park had hitherto been the only theatre of his own mi-

litary experience, and the evolutions of a regiment of guards, at a review, his chief essays in arms.

In consequence of these unpropitious circumstances, partly arising from the haughty and obstinate character of the general, partly from his ignorance of the scene of war, and of the nature of the hostilities in which he was engaged, Braddock's enterprise terminated in awful misfortune. As he was advancing with careless confidence, and had arrived within ten miles of Fort du Quesne, he fell into an ambuscade of French and Indians, so artfully July 9. planted in a defile, that they could take an unerring aim from behind trees and bushes, without being exposed to any danger. About noon a concealed fire began upon the front and left flank of the English army, which was by that time in the middle of the defile. The van-guard fell immediately back upon the centre; and the British troops being seised with a panic, from the unusual appearance and horrid shrieks of the savages who now shewed themselves, a total rout ensued. Braddock himself, however, seemed insensible to fear. Equally imprudent and intrepid, he resolutely maintained his station, instead of attempting a retreat, or bringing up his cannon to scour the thickets with grape-shot; and gave orders to the few gallant officers and soldiers, who remained about his person, to form and advance against the almost invisible enemy, whose every shot did execution. His obstinacy seemed only to increase with the danger by which he was pressed. At length, after having five horses killed under him, he was mortally wounded in the breast by a musquet-ball. Sir Peter Halket, and other brave officers, with about five hundred private men, were slain on this melancholy occasion [11].

It is worthy of remark, that, in this action, the Virginians and other provincial troops, whom Braddock, by way of contempt, had placed in the rear, were so little affected

[11] *Mod. Univ. Hist.* ubi sup.——*Contin.* of Rapin, vol. ix.

with the panic that disordered the regulars, that they offered to advance against the enemy, till the fugitives could be brought back to the charge. But that was found impracticable; the terror of the two front regiments being so great, that they did not desist from their flight before they met the rear-division, which was advancing under colonel Dunbar. All the artillery, baggage, ammunition, and provisions of the principal division, under Braddock, fell into the hands of the victors, with his own cabinet, containing his official letters and instructions, of which the French afterward made great use in their printed memorials and manifestoes.

Although no enemy pursued, the whole English army retreated to Fort Cumberland, near Will's Creek; and there it was expected to continue during the latter part of the summer: but the chief command having devolved on general Shirley in consequence of the death of Braddock, he ordered all the troops fit for service to march to Albany, in the province of New York. Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, were therefore left, during the remainder of the year, exposed to the barbarous incursions of the French and their scalping Indians.

Those colonies were able to have provided effectually for their own defence, had they been unanimous in their measures. But the usual disputes, between their governors and assemblies, defeated every salutary plan proposed for that purpose. The other colonies were less divided in their councils, and more active in their preparations for war. New York and New Jersey, following the example of New England, had prohibited all intercourse with the French settlements in North America, at the same time that their assemblies voted very considerable supplies: and two expeditions were resolved upon; one against Crown Point, the other against the fort of Niagara, both supposed to be built upon the British territories.

The expedition against Crown Point was committed to

the care of a gentlemen since known by the name of sir William Johnson, a native of Ireland, who had long resided upon the Mohawk river, in the western parts of New-York; where he had obtained a considerable estate, and was not only popular among the English inhabitants, but was also esteemed by the neighbouring Indians, whose language he had acquired, and whose affections he had won by his humanity and affability. The expedition against Niagara was to be conducted by Shirley in person.

Albany was appointed as the rendezvous of the forces for both expeditions; and most of the troops arrived there before the end of June. But, in consequence of various delays, general Johnson could not set out before the end of August. Shirley was sooner ready, though not before the melancholy news of Braddock's defeat had reached Albany. The influence of that intelligence on the spirit of the troops was astonishing. A general damp hung over the whole; terror communicated itself from rank to rank, and many soldiers deserted; so that when Shirley arrived at Oswego, he had scarcely the appearance of an army, instead of a force sufficient not only to secure the British settlements in those parts, but to reduce the strong fortress of Niagara, situated between the lakes Ontario and Erie, and the great key of communication between Canada and Louisiana. The attempt was therefore laid aside, as impracticable; and Shirley having marked out the foundations of two new forts in the neighbourhood of Oswego, which stands on the south-east side of lake Ontario, and augmented the garrison of that place to the number of seven hundred men, returned ingloriously to Albany with the wretched remnant of his army[12].

In the mean time general Johnson, having advanced as far as lake George, on which he intended to embark, was unexpectedly attacked in his camp by the baron Dieskau, commander in chief of the French forces in Canada, at the

12 *Mod. Univ. Hist.* ubi sup.——*Contin.* of Rapin, vol. ix.

[library stamp]

head of two thousand men. And although the camp was both naturally and artificially strong, there is reason to believe that the French general might have forced it, if he had not ordered his troops to halt at the distance of about a hundred and fifty yards, whence they began their attack with platoon-firing, which could do little or no execution upon troops defended by a strong breastwork. The English, on the other hand, plied their great guns and musquetry so warmly, that the central body of the enemy, composed of the French regulars, began to flag in their fire; and the Canadians and Indians, who formed the flanks of their army, squatted below bushes, or skulked behind trees. Encouraged by these favourable appearances, the English and their Indian allies leaped over the breastwork, and completed the discomfiture of the assailants. Dieskau himself, an old and experienced officer, was mortally wounded; and above six hundred of his men fell in this attack, and in an engagement with colonel Williams[13]. Johnson did not think it prudent to pursue his victory, and it was found too late in the season to proceed to the attack of Crown Point.

Such was the termination of the American campaign, which, all things considered, notwithstanding the defeat of Dieskau, and the expulsion of the French from Nova Scotia, was estimated to the disadvantage of Great Britain. But that disadvantage was counterbalanced, in the opinion of the nation, by the great number of mercantile ships that had been captured during the summer. No sooner was intelligence brought of the taking of the Alcide and Lys, which, it was thought, would be considered by the court of Versailles as an indirect declaration of war, than an order was issued by the British ministry, to make prize of all French ships on the high seas, wherever they might be found. In consequence of that order, above three hundred trading vessels belonging to France (many of which were very valuable), and

[13] Lond. *Gazette*, Oct. 30, 1755.

about eight thousand seamen, were brought into the ports of England, before the end of the year[14].

Contrary to all political conjecture, the French made no reprisals. As this inaction could not be imputed to moderation, it was justly ascribed to a consciousness of their inferiority at sea, and a desire of interesting in their cause the other European powers. Stunned by the unexpected blow, that impaired their naval strength, and distressed the trading part of the kingdom, they were at a loss how to proceed; having always flattered themselves, that the anxiety of George for the safety of his German dominions, which they had for some time threatened, would prevent him from adopting any vigorous measures, notwithstanding their encroachments in America. But discovering at length their mistake, by the capture of their ships, and seeing no hopes of restitution, the court of Madrid having declined the dangerous office of mediator, they now resolved to put their threat in execution; and the greatness of their military preparations, with their vicinity to the country which was to be invaded, seemed to promise brilliant success.

While the flames of war were thus breaking out between France and England, the southern parts of Europe were visited by a more dreadful calamity than even war itself. A violent earthquake, which shook Spain, Portugal, and the neighbouring countries, threw the inhabitants into the utmost consternation, and laid the greater part of the city of Lisbon in ruins. About ten thousand persons lost their lives; and many of the survivors, deprived of their habitations, and destitute of the means of subsistence, were obliged to take up their abode in the open fields. But they were not suffered to perish. The British parliament, though pressed with new demands, generously voted one hundred thousand pounds sterling for the relief of the sufferers in Portugal. And this noble instance of public

Nov. 1.

[14] Smollett, vol. xii.——*Contin. of Rapin*, ubi sup.

liberality was enhanced by the manner of conferring the benefit. A number of ships, laden with provisions and clothing, were immediately dispatched for Lisbon; where they arrived so opportunely, as to preserve thousands from dying of hunger or cold.

LETTER XXXII.

A Survey of the State of Europe in 1756, *with an Account of the Operations of the general War, till the Conquest of Hanover by the French, in* 1757.

NO sooner did France resolve to invade the electorate of Hanover, and the king of Great Britain to defend it, than both became sensible of the necessity of new alliances. Spain and Portugal seemed determined to remain neutral, and the states-general of the United Provinces prudently pursued the same line of conduct. The German powers were less quietly disposed.

A. D. 1755.

The court of Vienna, ever since the treaty of Breslau, but more especially since that of Aix-la-Chapelle, had viewed the rising greatness of the king of Prussia with envious eyes. The empress-queen had never been reconciled to the loss of Silesia; one of the most fertile countries in Europe, and which yielded a clear annual revenue of four millions of dollars, to a rival whom she personally hated. She therefore entered secretly into a league with the empress of Russia for the recovery of that fine province, and even for stripping the king of Prussia of his hereditary dominions. But this league, into which the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony, was also drawn, did not escape the vigilance of the penetrat-

ing Frederic. And time and circumstances enabled him to break its force, before the schemes of his enemies were ripe for execution.

As soon as George saw his German dominions seriously threatened by the French, who had already formed magazines in Westphalia, with the consent of the elector of Cologne, he applied to the court of Vienna for the troops which it was bound to furnish by treaty. But the empress-queen excused herself from fulfilling her engagements, under pretence that the war, having originated in America, did not come within the terms of her treaty with the court of London. Thus disappointed by the imperial court, as well as in his application to the states-general, his Britannic majesty concluded a subsidiary treaty with the court of Petersburg; in consequence of which the empress of Russia engaged to hold in readiness for his support an army of fifty-five thousand men, and to put them in motion on the first notice. Sept. 30.

The treaty was perfectly agreeable to the court of Vienna, whose secret views it was calculated to promote; as it afforded the Russians a decent pretext for entering Germany, and even encouraged them to such a measure by a liberal subsidy. The two empresses, therefore, flattered themselves, that they should not only be able to accomplish their ambitious project, but to make Great Britain bear the expence of its execution. The ruin of the king of Prussia seemed, to the powers who hoped to divide his dominions, inevitable. His sagacity, however, saved him from the machinations of his enemies, and gave a new turn to the politics of Europe. Though assured of the friendship of France, and acquainted with her views, he boldly declared, that he would oppose the entrance of all foreign troops within the boundaries of the empire, and consider as enemies those who should attempt to introduce them.

The king of Great Britain, alarmed at this declaration, yet pleased with its professed object, the exclusion of foreign

Jan. 16, 1756. troops, concluded at Westminster, on that principle, a treaty with the king of Prussia; not doubting that he should still be able to preserve a good understanding with the courts of Vienna and Petersburg. The house of Austria, however, forgetting its jealousy of the family of Bourbon, in its animosity against the Prussian monarch, not only joined Russia and Sweden in a league with France, but partly gave up its barrier in the Netherlands, acquired by torrents of British blood, and millions of British treasure, in order to cement more closely the unnatural confederacy. May 1. These extraordinary alliances, signed at Versailles, necessarily drew tighter the bands of union between George and Frederic.

Meanwhile the people of Great Britain, having no confidence in their ministry, were seised with a shameful panic, notwithstanding their naval superiority, at the rumour of a French invasion. That panic was in some measure dissipated, by the arrival of Hanoverian and Hessian forces for the protection of the kingdom. But new jealousies and fears arose, as soon as the alarm of the invasion subsided; the foreign troops being represented, by the dissatisfied part of the nation, as the most dangerous enemies of the state. The attention of the public was, however, called off from that object, for a time, by the news of the invasion of the island of Minorca by a French armament under the duke de May 17. Richelieu. This measure was immediately followed, on the part of Great Britain, by a declaration of war against France, which was answered by a similar denunciation from the court of Versailles.

The English populace, who in all great political contests may be said to direct the resolutions of the throne, were pleased with that indication of spirit in the government, as well as with the treaty with the king of Prussia; which was also approved by the parliament, and studiously represented by the court as essential to the support of the protestant interest in Germany. But some unfortunate events revived

the clamour against the ministry, and increased the national despondence, for which there was too much cause; the martial spirit of the people being almost extinct, and the councils of the sovereign divided. These matters will require some explanation.

Various causes had contributed to the decline of the martial spirit in Great Britain. The long peace that succeeded the treaty of Utrecht, the establishment of a standing army, and the consequent neglect of the militia, tended to estrange the people of England from the use of arms. The citizen, having delivered his sword into the hands of the hireling soldier, cheerfully contributed to the expences of government, and looked up for safety to a band of mercenaries, whom he considered as dangerous to public liberty.

That disinclination to arms, increased by a lucrative commerce, was encouraged by the court; which, during the whole reign of the first, and great part of that of the second George, was under continued alarm on account of the intrigues of the adherents of the house of Stuart. The war between Great Britain and Spain, which began in the year 1739, revived, in some degree, a martial spirit in the British army and navy. But the body of the people of England, as appeared on the irruption of the Highlanders, in 1745, had relinquished all confidence in themselves. Being accustomed to pay for protection, though jealous of their very protectors, they trembled before a small body of desperate mountaineers.

Many motions were made in parliament, that the militia might be put on a respectable footing, for the general security of the kingdom. But the jealousy of government long prevented any effectual step from being taken for that purpose; while the peace that followed the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, by relaxing still farther the manners of the nation, had rendered the people yet less warlike. And as the small standing army, dispersed over the extensive dominions of the empire, was evidently insufficient for its protection, the unarmed and undisciplined inhabitants of Great Britain were

justly filled with terror and apprehension at the prospect of a French invasion.

In this extremity a new militia-bill was framed by Mr. Charles Townshend, and passed the house of commons, but was rejected by the peers. Thus deprived of the only constitutional means of defence, by a government that owed its existence to the suffrage of the people, and a family which reigned but by their voice, England submitted to the indignity of calling in foreign mercenaries, for her defence against an enemy who had often trembled at the shaking of her spear, and whose inferiority, particularly in naval resources, and in pecuniary supplies, seemed to be more remarkable than in any former period.

That indignity was keenly felt by all orders of men in the state; and only the national despondence, and the orderly behaviour of the foreign troops, could have prevented a popular insurrection. The principal servants of the crown, on whom the public indignation chiefly fell, were severely blamed for exposing the kingdom to such an indelible disgrace. The ministry, indeed, had never been properly settled since the death of Mr. Pelham, in 1754. That minister, though sufficiently disposed to gratify the passion of his sovereign for German alliances and continental politics, was believed to be, in his heart, a sincere friend to his country, and to the liberties of the people. His brother the duke of Newcastle, who succeeded him as first commissioner of the treasury, and who was no less compliant to the court, possessed neither his virtues nor his talents; and Mr. Fox (who, in 1755, was appointed secretary of state, and was considered as the ostensible minister), though a man of abilities, was supposed to be destitute of principle. He was besides very unpopular, as he had made the motion in the house of commons for bringing over the Hanoverians and Hessians, instead of adopting any vigorous measures of internal defence.

The British ministry, however, were blamed for events

which it was not altogether in their power to govern, distracted as they were by the national panic. To increase that panic, as well as to conceal the intention of attacking Minorca, the French court had sent large bodies of troops to the maritime provinces, opposite to the coast of England. Nor were its naval preparations less formidable. Beside a great number of frigates and flat-bottomed boats, which might be employed as transports, they had near forty ships of the line at Brest and other ports on the ocean. It was therefore judged prudent to keep a superior English fleet in the Channel; and as it was conjectured that the French could not have a large force at Toulon, only ten English sail of the line, two vessels of forty-eight guns, and three frigates, were sent into the Mediterranean.

The command of this squadron was given to admiral Byng, son of the celebrated naval officer of that name, who had triumphed over the Spaniards in 1718. When Byng arrived at Gibraltar, where his squadron was augmented by one ship of the line, he learned that about fifteen thousand French had landed in Minorca, and were besieging the castle of St. Philip, which commands the town and port of Mahon. Having on board a reinforcement for the garrison of that fortress, he immediately sailed for the place of his destination, after receiving a detachment from the garrison of Gibraltar. He was joined on his way by a frigate, and was particularly informed by her captain of the strength of the enemy's fleet. It consisted of twelve sail of the line and five frigates, under the marquis de la Galissoniere.

On the approach of the English admiral to the harbour of Mahon, he had the satisfaction to see the British colours still flying on the castle of St. Philip. But, notwithstanding this animating circumstance, his attempts for its relief were feeble and ineffectual. In a word, Mr. Byng seems to have been utterly discouraged, from the moment he learned the strength of the French fleet, though it was scarcely superior to his own, and to have given up Minorca for lost as soon as

he heard that it was invaded. This fully appears, both from his subsequent conduct, and from his letter to the secretary of the admiralty, written before he arrived at Mahon. In that letter (which forms a kind of prelude to the account of his miscarriage), after lamenting that he did not reach Minorca before the landing of the French, he expressed himself thus:—"I am firmly of opinion, that throwing men "into the castle will only enable it to hold out a little "longer, and add to the numbers that must fall into the "enemy's hands; for the garrison, in time, will be obliged "to surrender, unless a sufficient number of men could be "landed to raise the siege. I am determined, however, to "sail up to Minorca with the squadron, where I shall be a "better judge of the situation of affairs, and will give general "Blakeney all the assistance he shall require. But I am "afraid all communication will be cut off between us; for "if the enemy have erected batteries on the two shores "near the entrance of the harbour (an advantage scarce to "be supposed they have neglected) it will render it im-"possible for our boats to have a passage to the sally-port "of the garrison [1]."

The admiral's behaviour was conformable to these de-May 20. sponding ideas. When M. de la Galissoniere advanced, Byng disposed his fleet in order of battle; but kept at such a distance, under pretence of preserving the line unbroken, that *his* division did very little damage to the enemy, and his own noble ship of ninety guns was never properly in the engagement. The division under rear-admiral West, however, drove five of the French ships out of the line, and, if supported, would have gained a complete victory. As an apology for not bearing down upon the enemy, Byng is said to have told his captain, that he would

[1] Byng's *Letter* from the bay of Gibraltar, May 5, 1756. "If I should fail "in the relief of Port Mahon," adds he, "I shall look upon the security and "protection of Gibraltar as my next object, and shall repair down *here* with "the squadron."

avoid the error of admiral Matthews, who incurred the censure of a court-martial by his wrong-headed temerity, in rashly violating the laws of naval discipline!

The consequences of this indecisive action were such as had been foreseen by those who were acquainted with the sentiments of the English commander. Byng, though in some measure victorious, as the French admiral bore away to support that part of his line which had been broken by Mr. West, and although the English fleet had lost only about fifty men, immediately retired to Gibraltar, as if he had sustained a defeat. The reasons assigned for this retreat, in which a council of war concurred, were, his inferiority to the enemy in number of men and guns, his apprehensions for the safety of Gibraltar, and the impossibility of relieving Minorca; though it appeared, on the fullest evidence, that no attempt to afford such relief was made, and that the landing of troops, at the sally-port of the castle, was very practicable[2].

The French fleet, on the retreat of Byng, resumed its station off the harbour of Mahon. And the garrison of fort St. Philip being thus deprived of all hope of relief, general Blakeney surrendered the place, and with it the island of Minorca, after a siege of above seven weeks. The defence was not so vigorous as might have been expected from the strength of the works, from the advantageous situation of the castle or citadel, and the rocky nature of the soil, which rendered it almost impracticable to open trenches. But the garrison was too small by one third, not exceeding three thousand men: the besiegers, who were numerous at first, were repeatedly reinforced after the retreat of the English fleet; and their train of artillery was awfully formidable, consisting of near one hundred pieces of battering-cannon, beside mortars and howitzers. The duke de Richelieu pushed his approaches with ardour, and led on his

[2] See the *Examination* of Lord Blakeney and Mr. Boyd in the printed *Trial of Admiral John Byng.*

troops to several desperate assaults. Therefore, although only two of the outworks were taken when the capitulation was signed, and but one hundred of the garrison slain, while the French had lost about four thousand men, the conduct of Blakeney, when contrasted with that of Byng, appeared to such advantage, that he became extremely popular on his arrival in England, notwithstanding his want of success, and was raised by his sovereign to the peerage.

The fortune of admiral Byng was very different. The public cry was loud against him; and he was odious to the ministry, on whom he had endeavoured to throw the blame of his miscarriage. He was superseded by sir Edward Hawke in the command of the fleet in the Mediterranean, and brought home under arrest to be tried for his life.

The news of the reduction of Minorca transported the French populace, and even the court, with the most extravagant joy and exultation. Nothing was to be seen in France, but triumphs and processions; nor any thing heard but anthems, congratulations, and hyperbolical compliments to the victor. The people of England were depressed in an equal degree, when informed of the loss of so important an island; but, instead of ascribing it to the number and valour of the French soldiers and sailors, or to the skill of their commanders, the great body of the nation imputed it to the cowardice of Byng and the improvidence of the ministry.

While an inquiry into the affair was clamorously demanded, a general hope prevailed, that misfortune would not extend to every scene of action. And very sanguine expectations were entertained of success in North America, where the war had originated, and where our most essential interests were supposed to be at stake. Orders had been issued for raising, in the English colonies, four battalions of regulars, which were soon completed, and disciplined by experienced officers: fresh troops were sent from the mother country; and the government resolved to take upon it-

self the whole weight and conduct of the war in America, on account of the divisions in the provincial assemblies.

The plan of operation for the campaign was great, yet promising and flattering. It was proposed to reduce the fortress of Niagara, in order to cut off the communication between Canada and Louisiana, and prevent the French from supporting their new posts upon the Ohio; to besiege Fort du Quesne, the principal of those posts; to take Ticonderoga and Crown Point, that the frontier of New York might be delivered from the danger of invasion, and Great Britain acquire the command of Lake Champlain, over which forces might be transported for the facilitation of any attempt upon Quebec. The rendezvous was fixed at Albany; and Abercrombie, arriving at that station in June, assumed the command of the forces there assembled. They consisted of about four thousand regulars, including the American battalions; four independent companies belonging to the colony of New York; a regiment of militia from New Jersey; a formidable body of men raised in New England, and four companies levied in North Carolina.

The English colonies toward the south, especially Virginia and Maryland, had suffered so severely from the ravages of the French and Indians, to which they were still exposed, that it was with the utmost difficulty they could defend themselves. The inhabitants of Pennsylvania, of whom Quakers form the most considerable body, though exposed to similar barbarities, could hardly be prevailed upon to make any provision for their own security; but, instead of sending troops to the general rendezvous, when smitten on one side of the head, they presented the other to the savage assailant. And the number of negro slaves, in South Carolina, above the due proportion of white inhabitants, was so great, that the assembly judged it inconsistent with the safety of the province to spare any part of their domestic force for distant enterprises.

The army assembled at Albany, however, though perhaps

too small to complete the extensive plan of operations, was of sufficient strength to have performed essential service, if it had entered immediately upon action. But as Abercrombie delayed the execution of every part of that plan until the arrival of the earl of Loudon (which proved too late in the season for any thing of consequence to be afterward effected, or even undertaken with a probability of success), another campaign was lost to Great Britain, through neglect and procrastination; while time was afforded the French, not only to take precautions at their leisure against any future attempt on their back settlements, but to proceed unmolested in their scheme of encroaching on the British colonies, and reducing all our fortifications in the neighbourhood of the Lakes. The marquis de Montcalm, who had succeeded Dieskau in the command of the forces in Canada, and who possessed a bold military genius, accordingly invested Oswego, and reduced it in a few days. About sixteen hundred men, who formed the garrison, were made prisoners of war; and, beside seven armed vessels and two hundred *bateaux*, one hundred and twenty-one pieces of cannon, fourteen mortars, with a great quantity of ammunition and provisions, fell into the hands of the enemy [3].

So unfortunate for Great Britain was the issue of this campaign in North America! Nor did our affairs wear a more pleasing aspect in the East Indies. Admiral Watson, who commanded the British fleet in those latitudes, had indeed, in the beginning of the year, reduced Gheriah, the principal fortress of Tulagee Angria, a piratical prince, whose ancestors had established themselves on the coast of Malabar, and who had become rich and powerful by pillaging European vessels. And the English factories at Madras and Fort St. David were also able to maintain their ground against the French and their Indian allies. But

3. *Gazette de Paris*, Oct. 30, 1756.

mischief and havock unexpectedly fell upon a place that was thought to be in the most perfect security.

The great commerce of England to the East Indies, since the middle of the eighteenth century, and her valuable territorial acquisitions in Bengal, where this blow was struck, provoke me to attempt a description of that rich country, whose memorable revolutions I shall have occasion to relate.

Bengal, the most easterly province of Hither India, lies between the twenty-first and twenty-seventh degrees of north latitude, and extends from east to west above six hundred miles. As Egypt owes its fertility to the Nile, Bengal is indebted for its opulence to the Ganges. This magnificent body of water, after having received in its course, winding from the mountains of Thibet to the twenty-fifth degree of latitude, seven large rivers, and many inferior tributary streams, enters the province of Bengal near the mountain of Tacriagully, whose foot it washes, and whence it runs in a south-east direction to the sea.

About a hundred miles below Tacriagully, the Ganges stretches towards the south an arm, which is called the river Cossimbuzar, and, fifty miles lower, another arm, called the Jelingheer, which, after flowing about forty miles to the south-west, unites with the Cossimbuzar at Nuddeah. The river formed by the junction of the Cossimbuzar and Jelingheer is sometimes called the *Little Ganges*, but more commonly the Ougli; which, after flowing one hundred miles in a southern direction, enters the sea at the island of Sagor.

The principal stream, which, for the sake of distinction, is called the *Great Ganges*, continues to receive, from the Cossimbuzar to the middle of the twenty-second degree of latitude, a multitude of small rivers. There its flood is joined by the Burrampooter, a yet greater river, which rises on the eastern side of those vast mountains that send forth the Ganges to the west. The conflux of those two mighty rivers is tumultuous, and has formed several large islands

between their junction and the open sea, which their waters reach about thirty-five miles lower.

Tacriagully is the termination of a stupendous range of mountains, accompanying the course of the Ganges from the west. And about fifty miles beyond Tacriagully, where these mountains begin to form a boundary of Bengal on the western side of the Ganges, another mountainous range strikes from the south, but in a curve swelling westward, which terminates within sight of the sea, about thirty miles from Balasore. To the north, those mountains divide Bengal from the southern division of Bahar; and, to the south, they seem the natural separation of Bengal from Orissa. Eastward, the province extends as far as Rangamatty, in the kingdom of Assem.

The sea-coast of Bengal, between the mouth of the Ougli and that of the Great Ganges, extends, from east to west, one hundred and eighty miles; and the whole is a dreary inhospitable shore, which sands and whirlpools render inaccessible to ships of considerable burthen. For many miles within land, the country is intersected by numerous channels, through which both rivers disembogue themselves, by many mouths, into the ocean; and the islands formed by these channels are covered with thickets, and occupied chiefly by beasts of prey. But the country higher up is very differently inhabited, and is so desirable that it has been called the *Paradise of India*.

The triangle formed by the Cossimbuzar and Ougli rivers to the west, by the Great Ganges to the east, and by the sea-coast to the south—and also a large tract, on each hand, to the north of this Delta—are as level as the Lower Egypt, and do not exhibit a single stone. The soil is a stratum of the richest mould, lying on a deep sand; which being interspersed with shells, indicates the land to have been overflowed. Such parts of that extensive plain as are not watered by the Ganges or its branches, are fertilised by many other streams from the mountains; and for the space

of three months, from May to August, when the sun is mostly vertical, heavy rains fall every day [4].

In consequence of these advantages of soil and climate, the inhabitants of Bengal are enabled to subsist by less labour than the people of most other countries. Rice, which forms the basis of their food, is produced in such plenty, that it is sold at a price remarkably low. Many other grains, and a vast variety of fruits and culinary vegetables, as well as the spices that enter into their diet, are raised with equal ease, and in the greatest abundance. Salt is found in the islands near the sea, and the sugar-cane thrives every where. Fish swarm in all the streams and ponds; and the cattle, though small, are incredibly numerous. Hence the province is extremely populous: and the labours of agriculture being few and light, many hands are left for the fine fabrics of the loom, the principal branch of oriental industry. More pieces of cotton and silk are accordingly manufactured in Bengal, notwithstanding the indolence and effeminacy of the inhabitants, who are utterly destitute of all vigour of mind [5], than in any other country of Hindostan of much greater extent; and as these manufactures are chiefly intended for exportation, and are sold at a lower rate than in other territories, the trade of Bengal has ever excited the avidity of the Europeans, since navigation opened them a passage thither by the Cape of Good Hope.

As early as the year 1640, the agents of the English East-India company obtained leave to build a factory at the town of Ougli, then the principal port in the province of Bengal. But the officers of the Mogul government superintended the progress of the buildings, and objected to every thing which resembled, or might be converted into, a station of defence; the court of Dehli, at that time, disdaining to allow, in any

[4] Orme, book vi.

[5] This languor may be ascribed partly to the climate, and partly to the vegetable diet of the inhabitants, whose religion precludes them from the use of animal food.

part of its dominions, the appearance of any sovereignty but its own, or the erection of a single bastion by any European power [6]. Nor does this contradict what has been formerly said of the first European settlements on the sea-coast of Hindostan; the territory on which they stood, and many of the forts themselves, having either been purchased or wrested from princes who had not submitted to the Great Mogul.

The same jealous policy that prohibited the English from erecting fortifications, also forbade the introduction of military force. An ensign and thirty men, to do honour to the principal agents, were all the troops allowed to be kept by them at Ougli. In this naked condition, and under the pressure of frequent fines and exactions, the factory continued until the year 1686; when, as a remedy against such arbitrary impositions, an attempt was made by the company to establish a defensible post by force of arms. The enterprise failed: yet the English agents were permitted to settle a factory at Soota-nutty, on the same river, in 1689; and, in the following year, they received a *phirmaun*, or patent from Aurengzebe, allowing them to trade free of customs, on condition of paying annually a stipulated sum.

These indulgences were granted to the English from an apprehension of their utter abandonment of the trade of Bengal, as they had removed to Madras after the miscarriage of their armament. And other causes contributed to fix them more firmly in that province. In 1696, the rajahs on the western side of the Ougli took up arms; and the principal part of the nabob's forces being then with the court at Dacca, the rebels, headed by the rajah of Burdwan, made great progress, before a body of troops, sufficient to cope with them, could be assembled. They took Ougli, plundered Mourshed-abad, and thence proceeded to Rajahmahl.

6 Orme, ubi sup.

On the rise of this rebellion, all the European factories in the province of Bengal augmented their soldiery, and declared for the nabob; earnestly requesting, at the same time, his permission to put their several settlements in a posture of defence against the common enemy. The nabob, in general terms, desired them to provide for their safety. An apology for such a measure was what they had long sought. Happy, therefore, in being furnished with an order so conformable to their views, the Dutch raised walls, with bastions, round their factory near Ougli. The French, with equal diligence and greater skill, fortified their settlement at Chandernagore; and the English, as their bulwark, erected Fort William at Calcutta, a small town where they had formed their principal magazines, not far from Sootanutty [7]. Such was the origin of the three European fortifications in the province of Bengal.

From the time that the English established themselves at Calcutta, which they were soon after permitted to purchase, with its territory, from the zemindar or Indian proprietor, the trade of the company continued to flourish, in spite of many discouragements from home: and the town increased wonderfully in population, notwithstanding the jealousy of the soubahdar. The company's agents had even the address to obtain from the Great Mogul, in 1717, the privilege of passports or *dustucks;* which being recognized throughout the province of Bengal, their goods were thenceforth exempted from customs, and no longer liable to be stopped by the officers of the revenue.

This was an extraordinary indulgence, and contributed greatly to facilitate and augment the trade of the English; more especially as the other European companies were not entitled to the same indulgence, nor any of the natives, except two or three principal merchants, who purchased it from the soubahdar at an exorbitant price [8]. But the envy

7 Orme, book vi.

8 Id. ibid.

and jealousy, occasioned by those advantages, excited against the English the odium both of the European and country powers; and that jealous hate in the latter brought on the catastrophe, which makes this digression necessary.

On the death of the soubahdar Aliverdi, who had governed with great ability, for many years, the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, the supreme authority devolved, in 1756, upon his grandson Souraj-ud-dowlah, a weak and tyrannical prince. Equally timid, suspicious, and cruel, the new viceroy determined to take vengeance on all whom he feared, and to owe his security to the inability of any power within his jurisdiction to hurt him. The English had particularly awakened his apprehensions by the taking of Gheriah, by their increasing strength in the Carnatic, and by the growth of their settlement at Calcutta.

Other circumstances conspired to point the resentment of the soubahdar immediately against the English factory at Calcutta. He was informed, and not altogether without foundation, that the agents of the company had abused their privilege of *dustucks*, by making them subservient not only to the importation of European, and the exportation of India goods, but to the importation of commodities from other parts of Hindostan, and even of the same province, to the great diminution of the public revenue, and in direct contradiction to the purpose for which they had been granted, the encouragement of foreign commerce. He therefore resolved to procure from the court of Dehli a revocation of those passports, or to deny their validity, and also punish the abuse. And the refusal of the governor and council of Calcutta to deliver up to him a noble refugee, who had taken shelter with all his treasures within their presidency, confirmed him in his hostile resolution.

Enraged at this incompliance, though seemingly occasioned by misapprehension, Souraj-ud-dowlah, who had assembled an army of fifty thousand men with an intention of striking a blow in a distant quarter, ordered it to march without delay

toward Calcutta; where the English, he was informed, were erecting new fortifications. He himself headed his troops; and advanced with such rapidity, that many of them died of fatigue. Sufficient force, however, remained for the accomplishment of his enterprise. After attempting in vain to oppose the enemy in the streets and avenues, the English inhabitants took refuge in Fort William; a place in itself by no means strong, and defended only by a small garrison. Conscious of his inability to hold out, Mr. Drake, the governor, called, at two in the morning, a council of war, to which all except the common soldiers were admitted; and after debating long, whether they should immediately escape to the company's ships in the river, or defer their retreat until the following night, the council broke up, without coming to any positive determination. But as the first proposal was not carried into execution, the second was generally understood to have been embraced.

Meanwhile the besiegers vigorously pushed their attacks, and hoped every moment to carry the fort by storm. Filled with terror, and unacquainted with military service, many of the company's servants, and even some members of the council, went off to the ships. A party of militia (it was observed) that had conducted the women on board the preceding night, did not return. They who remained in the fort looked at each other with wild affright. The governor, who had not hitherto seemed destitute of courage, now panic-struck at the thought of falling into the hands of Souraj-ud-dowlah, who had threatened to put him to death, hurried into a boat that lay at the wharf, without apprising the garrison of his intention. The military commandant, and several other persons of distinction, pusillanimously followed his example, and accompanied him to one of the ships.

The astonishment of the garrison at this desertion could only be equalled by their indignation. Nothing was heard for a time but execrations against the fugitives. At length,

however, the tumultuous concourse proceeded to deliberation: and Mr. Pearkes (the oldest member of the council left in the fort) having resigned his right of seniority to Mr. Holwell, that gentleman was unanimously invested with the chief command. The number of militia and soldiery now remaining did not exceed two hundred. The new commander, therefore, having seen some boats return to the wharf, locked the gate leading to the river, in order to prevent future desertions.

The same promptitude and spirit distinguished Mr. Holwell's whole conduct. But all his gallant efforts were found insufficient to preserve the fort. Soon convinced of their weakness, and conscious of their danger, the garrison threw out signals for the ships or boats to repair to the wharf. That rational hope of escape, however, failed them. One ship having struck on a sand-bank, no vessel offered afterward to yield them a retreat. As a last resource, Mr. Holwell threw

June 20. a letter from the ramparts, intimating a desire of capitulation; many of the garrison having been killed since the departure of the governor, and more of the survivors thrown into a state of despondency. Encouraged by this indication of weakness, the besiegers made a fierce but ineffectual assault; after which one of their officers appeared with a flag of truce. It was answered by another from the fort. A parley ensued; but before any articles of capitulation could be settled, the troops of the soubahdar forced open one of the gates, and took possession of the place [9].

After this success, Souraj-ud-dowlah entered the fort in triumph, accompanied by most of the great officers of his army. Having given directions for securing the company's treasure, he seated himself, with all the state of an Asiatic conqueror, in the principal apartment of the factory, and ordered Mr. Holwell to be brought before him. On the first appearance of that gentleman, the tyrant expressed violent resentment at the presumption of the English, in

9 Orme, ubi sup.

daring to resist his power, and chagrin at the smallness of the sum found in the treasury. Softened, however, in the course of three conferences, he dismissed the English chief, as he thought proper to call him, with repeated assurances, on the word of a soldier, that he should suffer no harm.

Notwithstanding these assurances, Mr. Holwell and his unfortunate companions (whom he found, on his return, surrounded by a strong guard) were forced into the common dungeon of the fort, usually called the *Black Hole*, about eight o'clock in the evening; and in that dungeon, only eighteen feet square, were they condemned to pass the night in one of the hottest climates of the earth, and in the hottest season of that climate. They could receive no air but through two small grated windows, almost totally blocked up by a neighbouring building, which deprived them of the common benefit even of the sultry atmosphere. Their distress was inexpressible, in consequence of the heat, and the pressure of their bodies, as soon as the door was shut. They attempted to force it open, but without effect. Rage succeeded disappointment. The keenest invectives were uttered, in order to provoke the guard to put an end to their wretched lives, by firing into the dungeon; and whilst some, in the agonies and torment of despair, were blaspheming their Creator with frantic execrations, others were imploring relief from heaven in wild and incoherent prayers.

Mr. Holwell, who had taken his station at one of the windows, exhorted his fellow-sufferers to composure, as the only means of surviving till morning. In the mean time he addressed himself to an old Jemetdar or serjeant, who seemed to have some marks of humanity in his countenance, promising him a thousand rupees, if he would separate them into different apartments. He retired to procure an order for that purpose; but returned in a few minutes, with a sorrowful face, and said it was *impossible!* Misapprehending his meaning, Mr. Holwell proffered him a larger sum. He retired a second time, but soon returned with the same woe-

foreboding look; while the prisoners rent the air with their cries to the guard to open the dungeon, and, to relieve their thirst, even drank the liquid that exuded from their pores.

"Unhappy men!"—said the Jemetdar,—"submit to "necessity. The soubahdar is asleep!—and what slave "dares disturb his repose[10]?"—A stronger picture of despotism was never drawn, or a deeper scene of human misery exhibited.

All sentiments of friendship, compassion, or respect, were henceforth extinguished in the breasts of the devoted prisoners. No one would give way for the relief of another; but every one employed his utmost strength to obtain a place near the windows, or to maintain that station. The feeble sunk, never more to rise, and were trampled upon by their stronger companions. The havock of death and the struggle for air continued until morning appeared; when, the door being opened, of one hundred and forty-six persons thrust into the Black Hole, only twenty-three were alive. And Mr. Holwell, and three others who survived, were condemned to farther sufferings. They were sent prisoners to Mourshedabad, the capital of the province, in hopes of extorting from them, by cruel usage, a confession respecting the factory's hidden treasures. Calcutta was pillaged, and Fort William secured by a garrison of three thousand men; and the affairs of the company seemed to be finally ruined in Bengal[11].

The accumulated misfortunes of Great Britain did not, however, discourage the king of Prussia, her brave ally, from taking vigorous measures in order to defeat the designs of his numerous enemies, or to acquire that ascendant in Germany which he had long been ambitious of attaining, and which had now become in some degree necessary for his own preservation, as well as to enable him to fulfil his political engagements with his Britannic majesty. Nor did

[10] Holwell's *Narrative*.—Orme, book vii.

[11] Id. ibid.

George fail to act with proper dignity. He ordered his electoral minister to deliver a memorial to the diet at Ratisbon, expressing his surprise at finding his late treaty with the king of Prussia industriously represented as a ground of apprehension and terror; and stating that, as France had made open dispositions for invading the electorate of Hanover, and the empress-queen, notwithstanding her obligations to Great Britain, had denied him the stipulated succours, he had negociated that alliance merely for the security of his own dominions, and the preservation of the tranquillity of the empire, neglected by its head[12].

The behaviour of his Prussian majesty was still more stately. Having ordered his minister at the court of Vienna to demand proper assurances concerning the hostile preparations on the frontiers of Silesia, and receiving only evasive answers, he resolved to anticipate the designs of his enemies, by carrying the war into their dominions, instead of coolly waiting its approach in his own. And he called Heaven and earth to witness, that the empress-queen alone would be chargeable with all the innocent blood that might be spilled, and the melancholy consequences that must attend the prosecution of hostilities, by refusing the declaration which he had required; namely, "that she had no intention "of attacking him either this year or the next." He had constituted her, he said, arbitress of peace or war; and her military preparations and mysterious replies left him no room to doubt which part of the alternative she had chosen, though she declined a liberal and open decision of the momentous question.

In order to invade Bohemia with success, it was not only convenient for him, but almost necessary, to take possession of Saxony. Having projected the invasion of that kingdom, and hoping to be able to reduce it to obedience before the empress-queen could assemble her troops, or the other con-

12 Printed *Memorial.*

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federates should be in a condition to attack him, he therefore resolved to occupy the electorate; a measure in which he thought himself justified, as he knew that Augustus had concurred in all the schemes formed by the courts of Vienna and Petersburg for the ruin of the house of Brandenburg, and waited only for an opportunity of co-operating also in the execution of them. He entered Saxony with seventy battalions and eighty squadrons, divided into three bodies, which pursued different routes, and assembled, by concert, in the neighbourhood of Dresden.

Unable to resist so powerful a force, the elector abandoned his capital, and joined his small army of fourteen thousand men, encamped at Pirna. This camp, which was deemed impregnable, he had not chosen merely on account of its strength, but also because he thought its position secured him a communication with Bohemia, whence only he could expect succour, and whither he might retire in case of necessity. Relying on these advantages, on the attachment of his subjects, and his intimate connexion with the court of Vienna, he scornfully rejected the reasonable requisition of Frederic, that, as a proof of the sincerity of his professions of neutrality, he should withdraw his army from the strong post which it occupied, and order the troops to return to their former quarters, in different parts of the electorate.

This refusal induced the king of Prussia to alter his plan of operations. As he had no magazines in Bohemia, he did not think it safe to penetrate into that kingdom, while the Saxons were masters of the Elbe behind him. He therefore resolved to surround their camp, and (as he could not hope to force it) compel them to surrender, by cutting off their supplies, before he proceeded in his expedition. With this view, he encamped at Zedlitz, in the neighbourhood of Pirna, and soon reduced the Saxon army to the greatest distress. Meanwhile he sent two large detachments, one under Keith, the other under Schwerin, to the frontiers of Bohemia, to over-awe the Austrians, and deprive them of the

power of making any vigorous efforts for the relief of the Saxons, by obliging them to divide their forces. Keith took post at Jornsdorff, and Schwerin at Aujest, opposite Koniggratz.

This was a cautious rather than a great line of conduct. Had Frederic hastened into Bohemia with the main body of his army (as soon as Augustus had rejected his propositions of neutrality), leaving twenty thousand men to block up the Saxon camp at Pirna, he might have made himself master of the whole kingdom, before the Austrians could have been in a condition to oppose him. Olmutz in Moravia, and even the Bohemian capital, must soon have fallen into his hands, both being yet unprovided against a siege[13]; whereas, by the plan which he pursued, the empress-queen had leisure to assemble two considerable armies in the threatened realm, and to put its principal towns in a state of defence. One of these armies, commanded by Piccolomini, took post at Konigingratz, in order to oppose Schwerin; the other, under count Brown, remained for a time at Kolin, with orders to march to the relief of the Saxon army, as soon as the necessary preparations could be made for that purpose.

These preparations being completed, the count quitted his camp at Kolin, and advanced to Budin on the Egra, to concert measures with the Saxons for accomplishing their rescue. Frederic, now seemingly sensible of his mistake, in

[13] *Hist. of the late War in Germany*, by major-general Lloyd, who served several campaigns in the Austrian army, and afterward in that of prince Ferdinand. " The conquest of these two places," adds this intelligent author, " would have enabled his Prussian majesty to begin the next campaign in " Moravia, at least, and perhaps on the Danube, with the siege or blockade " of Vienna; whence he might, without any risque, have sent a considerable " corps to the frontiers of Hungary, and the army destined to guard Saxony " into the empire, between the sources of the Maine and the Upper Danube. " The first would have hindered the empress-queen from receiving any suc- " cours from these countries, and the last would have effectually prevented " those princes, who were the king of Prussia's enemies, from uniting against " him."

not having entered Bohemia, left a body of troops to continue the blockade of Pirna, joined Keith's division, and resolved to give battle to the Austrian army under Brown. The desired opportunity he soon found.

The Austrians having passed the Egra, and encamped at Lowositz, his Prussian majesty thought it necessary to pass the mountains of Bascopal and Kletchen; to put the defiles behind him, and occupy the avenues leading to the plain before Brown's camp, that he might without difficulty attack him, if he should judge it convenient. He accordingly left Tirmitz, to which he had advanced from Jornsdorff, and soon arrived at Wilmina. Fearing that the enemy, decamping in the night, might occupy the mountains of Radostitz and Lobosch, and, by such a movement, not only render it impossible for him to attack them, but even oblige him to fall back to Ausig, he resumed his march, and preoccupied those mountains.

Oct. 1. The Prussian army, consisting of sixty-five squadrons and twenty-six battalions, with one hundred and two pieces of cannon, appeared at day-break in order of battle; the infantry in two lines, and the cavalry in three, behind. The right wing of the infantry was posted in the village of Radostitz, at the foot of the hill of the same name. Before that hill rises another, called the Homolkaberg; which, although considerably lower than the former, is yet so high as to command all the plain below, as far as Sulowitz. To this hill the king afterwards extended his right wing, and placed a battery of heavy cannon upon it. His centre occupied the valley formed by the Homolkaberg and the Loboschberg; and on the latter his left wing was stationed.

The Loboschberg is a remarkably high and steep mountain, and extends into the plain almost to Lowositz. That side of it is covered with vineyards, which are separated by stone walls. In these count Brown had posted a large body of Croats, who were sustained by several battalions of Hungarian infantry. Parallel to those mountains, and at the

distance of some hundred yards from the foot of them, runs a marshy rivulet; which in many places spreads itself in the plain, and forms a kind of lake. Between this rivulet and the hills, on which the Prussian army was formed, strikes a very deep ravine, excavated by land floods, from Sulowitz to Lowositz. The only passes over that ravine and rivulet are at these two villages, and by a narrow stone bridge between them. On a rising ground behind the rivulet appeared the Austrian army, consisting of seventy-two squadrons and fifty-two battalions, with ninety-eight pieces of cannon. It was formed in two lines; the infantry in the centre, and the cavalry, as usual, on the wings. A little before the commencement of the action, however, the cavalry of the right wing marched forward, and occupied the plain to the left of Lowositz. That village the count had ordered to be fortified, and had placed some of his best infantry in it, with a great quantity of artillery. He had likewise raised a strong battery, and some redoubts on the plain before it. By these means he thought he had rendered his right inaccessible, as his centre and left, covered by the marshy rivulet and the ravine, certainly were. He therefore resolved to wait battle in that position.

The action began about seven in the morning, between the left wing of the Prussians and the troops which Brown had posted on the Loboschberg. But in consequence of a thick fog, through which nothing could be seen at the distance of a hundred yards, no considerable advantage was gained, on either side, till near noon, when the fog began to clear up. It was soon entirely dissipated: and the hostile armies stood in full view of each other, agitated with anxious hopes and fears. The king, having examined the Austrian army for some time, judged its right to be the weakest, for many reasons, but chiefly because it was commanded from the Loboschberg. He therefore ordered his second line to enter into the first, with the cavalry in the centre, that he

might occupy the Homolkaberg and Loboschberg in force. This being readily executed, the whole army was put in motion, inclining always to the left, whence the projected attack was to be made; and the left wing being reinforced, and protected by the fire of a numerous and well-served artillery, marched down the Loboschberg toward Lowositz, and drove the Croats out of the vineyards into the plain.

Count Brown, believing that the fortune of the day depended on his being able to keep possession of Lowositz, threw almost his whole right wing into it. The action, therefore, was on this spot obstinate. At length, however, it was determined in favour of the Prussians. Seeing his right wing forced to give way, the Austrian general ordered his left to advance through Sulowitz, and attack the enemy's right. This it endeavoured to execute, but in vain. Only a small number of the infantry could pass the village; and these were so galled by the fire of a powerful artillery, that, being unable to form on the other side, they fell back in confusion. Brown was now under the necessity of attempting a retreat; which he conducted in a manner so masterly, that no effort was made to annoy him.

The Austrians, however, though thus compelled to quit the field, were not totally defeated. The count took a new position, the strength of which obliged Frederic to remain content with the advantage he had gained, and to keep his line behind Lowositz. While the enemy continued in that position, his Prussian majesty had not effected his design; for it was still possible for the Austrians to attempt the relief of the Saxons.

From his embarrassing situation the king's superior talents happily extricated him. He sent the prince of Bevern with a large body of horse and foot to Tischiskovitz, as if he had proposed to turn the enemy's left flank, and to hem them in between the Elbe and the Egra. This manœuvre had the

desired effect. Afraid of the consequence which might naturally be expected from such a motion, Brown hastened to repass the Egra, and occupied his old camp at Budin [14].

Thus ended the battle of Lowositz, which continued about eight hours. The loss on each side was nearly equal; and both parties claimed the victory; but, if we judge by effects, the only means of settling such doubtful questions, the Prussians had a preferable right to the honour of the day. The Austrians certainly intended to disengage the Saxons, and with that view advanced to Lowositz. The king could have no other object immediately in view, than that of baffling this scheme. He accomplished his aim by the battle of Lowositz, and by the subsequent movement, which drove the Austrians behind the Egra. Had the Prussians been more fully victorious, or had their sovereign pursued a bolder line of conduct, they would have been enabled to take up their winter-quarters in Bohemia.

Unable to relieve the Saxons on the left of the Elbe, Brown resolved to try his fortune on the right. He accordingly passed that river, and advanced to Lichtenhayn. The Saxons also passed the Elbe, near Ebenhert, at the foot of the mountain of Lilienstein, where they found themselves encompassed by inextricable difficulties. The Prussians had taken possession of all the defiles before them; the bridge over the Elbe was broken down behind them; and the Austrian general gave notice that he could not march to their assistance. They had no choice left, but to perish or become prisoners of war. They embraced the latter part of the alternative; and Augustus, who had taken refuge in the castle of Konigstein, was constrained to abandon his hereditary dominions, and retire into Poland.

The king of Prussia, having thus executed one part of his military plan, commanded his army to quit Bohemia, and took up his winter-quarters in Saxony. Now it was

14 Lloyd, ubi supra.

that the victorious monarch, in order to justify his rigour toward the unhappy Saxons, on whom he levied heavy contributions, at the same time that he seized the public revenues, made himself master of the archives of Dresden; and even ordered the secret cabinet, in which the papers relative to foreign transactions were kept, to be forcibly opened, although the queen of Poland placed herself against the door.

This violence has been generally reprobated, but, in my opinion, unjustly. Though perfectly acquainted with the laws of politeness, and sufficiently disposed to observe them, Frederic did not allow them to interfere with the rigid maxims and more important laws of policy. He rightly considered, that the passionate obstinacy of the queen of Poland, in personally opposing the command of the conqueror, deprived her of all the respect that was due to her sacred person; as a princess of her years and experience could not fail to know, that his desire of possessing the papers in question must increase in proportion to her zeal to protect them. She drew the insult upon herself; and,even if we admit that her death, which happened soon after, was the consequence of such insult, the king of Prussia was not chargeable with it. Her part was submission.

A. D. 1757.

In the papers seised, the enlightened potentate, whose sensibility of heart perhaps did not always equal his liberality of mind, found abundant proofs of the conspiracy formed against him by the courts of Vienna and Petersburg, and of the share which the court of Dresden had taken in that conspiracy. From those papers, which the king of Prussia published in his own vindication, it appeared, that although Augustus did not choose to insert *at first*, in his accession to the confederacy, the words *reciprocal engagement* of *assisting one another* with *all their forces*, he was willing to *come to an understanding*, for the partition of the dominions of the house of Brandenburg, by *private and confidential declarations*, and *just*

conditions and advantages[15], that it was resolved, in the grand council of Moscow, to *attack the king of Prussia, without any ulterior discussion*, not only *in case of his attacking any of the allies of the empress of Russia*, but also *if he should be attacked by any of her allies*[16]; that it had been concerted between Elizabeth and Maria-Theresa, that the latter, *the better to mask the true reasons of arming*, should do it *under the pretext of keeping herself in a condition to fulfil her engagements with England*, in case of need; and, when *all the preparations were finished*, should *fall suddenly upon the king of Prussia*[17].

Though this prince was not so successful as might have been expected from his superior military talents, the number and discipline of his troops, and the unprepared state of his enemies, who did not propose to begin their operations before the year 1757[18], the progress of his arms gave great joy to the British court, while it filled the people with shame and confusion by being contrasted with their disasters, the supposed misconduct of the ministry, the losses in America, and the miscarriage of the unhappy Byng, whom the public voice had already devoted to destruction for his pusillanimity. Willing to remove, as far as possible, all grounds of dissatisfaction, his Britannic majesty changed his ministers; and, in a noble speech from the throne, expressed his confidence, that, under the guidance of divine Providence, the union, fortitude, and affection of his people would enable him to surmount all difficulties, and vindicate the dignity of his crown against the ancient enemy of England.

At the head of the new administration was placed William Pitt, the most popular man in the kingdom, who accepted

15 *Letter* from the count de Bruhl, the Saxon Minister, to count Fleming, the Imperial minister, dated Dresden, March 8, 1753.

16 *Letter* from the Sieur Funck, the Russian minister, to the count de Bruhl, dated Petersburg, Oct. 20, 1755.

17 *Letter* from count Fleming to count de Bruhl, dated Vienna, June 9, 1756.

18 *Letter* from count Fleming to count de Bruhl, dated Vienna, July 28, 1756.

the office of secretary of state for the southern department, in the room of Mr. Fox. Mr. Legge, another popular commoner, was appointed chancellor of the exchequer; and the duke of Devonshire succeeded the duke of Newcastle at the head of the treasury.

The first measures of the patriotic minister reflected equal honour on his head and heart. He procured an order for sending home the foreign troops: he encouraged the framing of a bill, which immediately passed into a law, for establishing a national militia, nearly upon the footing on which it now stands, as our only constitutional defence; and he complied with the wishes of the people, in bringing admiral Byng to a trial, and promoting an inquiry into the conduct of the former ministry.

Byng was accordingly tried, by a court-martial, on board the St. George, in Portsmouth harbour, and sentenced to be shot; having, in the opinion of his judges, fallen under that part of the twelfth article of war, which prescribes death to any commander "who shall not, during "the time of action, do his *utmost*, from whatever motive "or cause, negligence, cowardice, or disaffection, to *distress* "the *enemy*." And they were farther unanimously of opinion, that beside failing in his duty, by keeping back during the engagement between the English and French fleets, and consequently not using his utmost endeavours "to "take, seize, and destroy the ships of the French king," he "did not *exert* his *utmost power* for the *relief* of *St. Philip's* "*castle*." But they recommended him to mercy, as the article of war on which they decided made no allowance for an error in judgment. His majesty laid the sentence before the twelve judges, who confirmed it.

Jan. 28.

Meanwhile a violent clamour, on account of this judgment, was raised by Byng's friends, who severely arraigned the proceedings against him, and ascribed his miscarriage solely to the ignorance and improvidence of the late corrupt administration. The people, though enraged at the admiral

for his dastardly behaviour, joined in the cry against the discarded ministers. And addresses were presented from all parts of the kingdom, requesting that a strict inquiry might be made into their conduct, from the time they received the first intelligence of the purpose of the French to invade Minorca, to the day of the engagement between Byng and Galissoniere. Such an inquiry was accordingly instituted in the house of commons, and openly conducted by a committee of the whole house, who were furnished from the public offices with all the papers that could throw light upon the subject; but, after a full investigation, they adopted such resolutions as were highly favourable to the execrated administration, instead of making any discovery to their disadvantage.

Feb. 17.

The first and last of these resolutions deserve particular notice. By the former, the committee declared it appeared to them, "that his majesty, from the 27th day of August, "1755, to the 20th day of April, in the following year, "received such repeated and concurrent intelligence, as "gave just reason to believe that the French king intended "to invade Great Britain or Ireland." And, in the latter, they gave it as their opinion, "that no greater number of "ships of war could be sent into the Mediterranean than "were actually sent thither under the command of admiral "Byng, nor any greater reinforcement than the regiment "which was sent, and the detachment (equal to a battalion) "which was ordered from Gibraltar to the relief of Fort "St. Philip, consistently with the state of the navy, and the "various services essential to the safety of his majesty's "dominions, and the interests of his subjects."

Though thus foiled in their attempt to criminate the ministry, the friends of admiral Byng did not yet abandon him to his fate. Another effort was made to save him. A member of the court that had condemned him made application to the house of commons in behalf of himself and some other individuals of that tribunal, praying the aid of

the legislature to be released from the oath of secrecy imposed upon courts martial, that they might make known the grounds on which the late sentence of death had passed, and disclose such circumstances as might perhaps shew the decision to be improper.

Little attention was paid by the commons to this application, till the king sent a message to the house, importing that, although he was determined to suffer the law to take its course against admiral Byng, unless it should appear from new evidence that he had been unjustly condemned, he had thought proper to respite the execution of the sentence of the court-martial, that the scruples of some members might be fully explained and weighed. In consequence of this message, a bill was immediately brought in, and passed the house of commons, for releasing the members of the court-martial from their obligation of secrecy. But it was rejected almost unanimously by the lords, after they had examined such members of that court as were members of the house of commons; sufficient reason not appearing to them for obstructing the course of justice, by giving way to such unmeaning or pretended scruples, in support of which no forcible arguments were produced, nor any latent circumstance, in favour of the person whom they regarded, brought to light.

Feb. 26.

Perceiving that all hope of life was now cut off, the admiral collected a degree of courage that would have done him honour, and which would have been better exerted, in the day of battle. He was shot in the Monarque, and behaved on that awful occasion with composure and dignity. Immediately before his death, he delivered a paper to the marshal of the admiralty, in which he asserted that he had *faithfully discharged his duty*, according to *the best* of *his judgment*. And perhaps he was sincere; but men, under such circumstances, are very apt to be partial to themselves. "Persuaded I am," adds he, (after congratulating himself that a few moments would deliver him from the

March 14.

virulent persecution of his enemies) "that justice will be "done to my reputation hereafter. The manner, and cause, "of raising and keeping up the popular clamour and pre-"judice against me, will be seen through. I shall be con-"sidered as a victim destined to divert the indignation and "resentment of an injured and deluded people from the "proper objects."

No! my dear Philip: let us rather consider his blood as a libation due to the offended Genius of England, and indispensably necessary to wash out the stain which had been thrown upon her naval glory. An admiral who had acted as Byng did, on such an occasion, and with such a force (all temporary circumstances being put out of the question), could only atone for his misconduct with the sacrifice of his life, as an awful warning to future commanders[19].

While the English ministry, in compliance with the wish of the people, were thus bringing to punishment a commander in chief, whom they considered as the cause of their greatest disgrace, and with whom they hoped their misfortunes would expire (for which they have been unjustly ridi-

19 Even Dr. Smollet, his warm advocate, after saying, "he was rashly "condemned, meanly given up, and cruelly sacrificed to vile considerations," has the candour to admit, that "the character of admiral Byng, in point of "*personal courage*, will *with many people* remain *problematical*: they will "still be of opinion, that if the *spirit* of a *British admiral* had been *properly* "*exerted*, the French fleet would have been *defeated*, and Minorca *saved*. A "man's opinion of danger," continues he, "varies at different times, in con-"sequence of an irregular tide of animal spirits: he is often *actuated* by *con-"siderations* which he *dares* not *avow*. And after *an officer, thus influenced*, "has *hesitated* or *kept aloof* in the *hour of trial*, the mind, *eager* for its own "JUSTIFICATION, *assembles*, with surprising industry, *every favourable circum-"stance of excuse*, and *broods* over them with *parental partiality*; until it becomes "not only *satisfied* but *enamoured of* their *beauty* and *complexion*, like a doting "mother, *blind* to the *deformity* of her *own offspring*." (*Continuat. Hist. England*, vol. i.) These ingenious reflections, and others of a like kind, which do honour to the discernment of Smollet, and distinguish his character as an historian, will long be remembered, after the malice of his enemies, and his own political prejudices, his generous but self-deluding personal attachments, and his violent resentments, are forgotten.

culed, and represented as barbarians, by their giddy and volatile neighbours), the French were enjoying the tortures of a maniac, who had attempted to kill their king. On this fanatical wretch, named Robert Francis Damien, whose gloomy mind had always bordered upon madness, and whose understanding was now evidently disordered by the disputes between the king and the parliaments relative to religion (which I shall afterward have occasion to explain), was practised, without effect, every refinement in cruelty that human invention could suggest, in order to extort a confession of the reasons that induced him to make an attempt on the life of his sovereign [20]. He maintained a sullen silence in the midst of the most acute torments, or expressed his agony only in frantic ravings. And his judges, wearied by his obstinacy, at last thought proper to terminate his sufferings by a death shocking to humanity; which, although the act of a people who pride themselves in civility and refinement, might fill the hearts of savages with horror. He was conducted to the common place of execution, amidst a vast concourse of the populace, stripped naked, and fastened to the scaffold by iron gyves. One hand of the miserable delinquent was then burned in liquid flaming sulphur. His thighs, legs, and arms, were torn with red-hot pincers. Boiling oil, melted lead, resin, and sulphur, were poured into the wounds; and to complete the awful catastrophe, his limbs being confined by tight ligatures, he was torn to pieces by young and vigorous horses [21].

March 28.

The attempt against the king's life had no influence upon the French councils, as it was soon discovered that his wound was not mortal. The court of Versailles, therefore, in conformity with its engagements and its views, assembled a great army; the main body of which, consisting of eighty thousand men, commanded by M. d'Estrées, and other of-

[20] He stabbed the king with a penknife, between the fourth and fifth ribs, as he was stepping into his coach.

[21] *Trial and Execution of R. F. Damien.*

ficers of high reputation, passed the Rhine early in the spring, and marched by the way of Westphalia, in order to invade the territories of the king of Prussia, as was pretended, but in reality to reduce the electorate of Hanover; and by that bold measure to oblige the king of Great Britain to submit to the encroachments of the French in America, or to the loss of what he valued as the apple of his eye or the cords of his heart, his German dominions. The smaller division, composed of twenty-five thousand men, under the prince de Soubise, received orders to march toward the Maine, to strengthen the Imperial Army of Execution.— Some explication will here be necessary, that the nature of this army may be fully understood.

No sooner did the king of Prussia enter Saxony, the preceding campaign, than a process was commenced against him in the aulic council, and also before the diet of the empire. By the influence of the court of Vienna, and the terror of the powerful confederacy which it had formed, he was condemned for contumacy; and it was intimated to him, that he was put under the ban of the empire, and adjudged to have fallen from all the dignities and possessions which he held in it. The circles of the empire were accordingly commanded to furnish their contingents of men and money, for the execution of this sentence. But the contingents were collected slowly; the troops were badly composed; and probably the army of the empire would not have been able to act, had it not been seconded by the French forces under the prince de Soubise. This general, before he passed the Rhine, reduced Cleves and Meurs; while a detachment from the army of M. d'Estrées seised Embden, and other towns belonging to his Prussian majesty in East Friseland.

Alarmed at the danger which threatened his electoral dominions, George seemed disposed to enter deeply into the continental quarrel, and even to send over a body of British troops for the protection of Hanover. In these views, however, he was thwarted by Pitt and Legge; who, adhering

to the patriotic principles in which they had been bred, and in the diffusion of which they had grown up to popularity, and raised themselves to power, considered Hanover as an useless and expensive appendage to the crown of Great Britain, and all continental connexions as inconsistent with our insular situation.

The popular ministers were deprived of their employments, for daring to oppose the will of their
April 5.
sovereign in council. And although it was too late to adopt new measures for the campaign with any probability of success, the duke of Cumberland was sent over to command an army of *observation* (as it was called), intended for the defence of Hanover. This army, which consisted of forty thousand men, chiefly Hanoverians and Hessians, attempted in vain to obstruct the progress of the French. The duke, after some unsuccessful skirmishes, was obliged to retire behind the Weser; and the enemy passed that river without opposition.

If the duke's situation now seemed desperate, that of the king of Prussia, after making every allowance for his own superior talents, and the valour and discipline of his troops, did not wear a more favourable aspect at the opening of the campaign. Above eighty thousand Russians were on the borders of Lithuania, and in full march to invade the kingdom of Prussia. The Swedes were ready to enter Pomerania, in hopes of recovering their former possessions in that country. The empress-queen, having made vast preparations during the winter, had augmented her army to one hundred and eighty-thousand men [22]; yet did she resolve to act only on the defensive, until her allies could take the field. Then she flattered herself that the king of Prussia would be obliged to divide his forces into so many bodies, as to be unable, in any part, to make a vigorous resistance.

[22] Lloyd's *Campaigns*, vol. i.

Conformably to this defensive system, the Austrian army was broken into four divisions; the first of which, commanded by the duke d'Aremberg, was posted at Egra; the second, under mareschal Brown, at Budin; the third, under count Konigseg, at Reichenberg; and the fourth, under mareschal Daun, in Moravia. By these dispositions, count Brown, who commanded in chief, thought he could effectually cover Bohemia, which was understood to be the first object of the enemy, and stop their progress, if they should attempt to advance.

Having resolved to penetrate into that kingdom, Frederic was not diverted from his purpose by this formidable force, or the strong positions it had taken. He ordered his army to assemble in four divisions: one under prince Maurice of Anhalt-Dessau, at Chemnitz; another, under himself and mareschal Keith, at Lockwitz; the third, under the prince of Bevern, at Zittau; and the fourth in Silesia, under Schwerin. As each division was strong, he thought he might safely order a separate invasion of Bohemia, instructing the four bodies, however, to unite as soon after as possible, for mutual support, and form a complete junction in the neighbourhood of Prague.

The Prussian plan of operations being thus concerted, prince Maurice quitted his station in the beginning of April, and marched by Zwickau and Plawen toward Egra, as if he intended to attack the place, or at least to penetrate that way into Bohemia. And, with a view of confirming d'Aremberg in this opinion, he commanded his light troops to make a feint upon the duke's quarters at Wildstein. The Austrian general, taking the alarm, threw himself into Egra; while Maurice returned to Averbach, and marched with great celerity to Linay, where he joined the king of Prussia.

Not thinking it practicable to force the camp at Budin, which was very strong, his Prussian majesty passed the river Egra higher up, near Koschtitz. Here his light troops and van-guard met those of the duke d'Aremberg, who was on

his march to join count Brown. On seeing the Prussians, however, they fell back upon Welwarn; and Brown, finding that the enemy had passed the Egra, and were encamped on his left flank, judged it necessary to retire to Prague. Thither he was followed by Frederic, who took his station on the hill called Weissenberg, to the left of the Moldau[23].

While these things were passing on the side of Saxony, where his Prussian majesty had spent the winter, and whence he still drew supplies, the prince of Bevern marched with his division to Reichenberg. He there found count Konigseg, with twenty thousand men, encamped in a valley. Through the middle of that valley ran the Neiss, reinforced by many torrents from the neighbouring mountains, the sides of which were covered with thick woods that were almost impassable. The Austrian general, therefore, occupied only the intermediate valley, extending his wings no farther than the foot of the mountains.

The prince of Bevern, who, by pursuing this route, had put himself under the necessity of fighting, in order to join mareschal Schwerin, had now no choice left but the mode of giving battle. Taking advantage of the disposition of the enemy (after an unsuccessful attack upon their cavalry, who, forming the centre, were strongly supported by the infantry and artillery on the two wings), he ordered several battalions to ascend the mountain on his right, and fall on the flank and rear of the Austrians posted in a wood at its foot. His commands were punctually executed, and attended with full effect. The Austrians abandoned the wood: their cavalry, unable to repel a fresh assault, were forced to give way. The whole right wing of the Prussians now occupied the ground which the Austrians had quitted, and obliged count Konigseg to retire toward Liebenau. The prince marched to that place, but found the Austrians so advantageously posted, that he did not think it prudent to attack them; more especially as he concluded

April 21.

[23] Lloyd's *Campaigns*, vol. i.

that the advance of the army under Schwerin would force them to retire. It so happened. Having received intelligence of Schwerin's approach, Konigseg quitted his camp the next day, and marched with precipitation to Prague.

Meanwhile Schwerin, informed of the action at Reichenberg, and the retreat of the Austrians, changed his route, and hoped still to be able to cut off Konigseg, before he could reach Prague. Although he failed in that attempt, he was so fortunate as to seise a copious magazine, which the enemy had formed at Jungbuntzlau. Being afterward joined by the division of the prince of Bevern, he proceeded to Brandeiss, passed the Elbe, and waited in his camp for instructions from his sovereign [24].

His Prussian majesty, who had thrown a bridge over the Moldau near Podbaba, passed that river in the night. The next morning he formed a junction with Schwerin; and having reconnoitred the enemy, from one of the highest hills on the other side of Brosiz, he resolved to engage without delay. May 6.

The Austrians, amounting to about eighty thousand men, were encamped with their left wing toward Prague, on the hill of Ziska, their right extending beyond Conraditz. The mountains before their camp were so steep and craggy, that no cavalry or artillery could ascend them, and the deep valley at their foot was wholly occupied by hussars and Hungarian infantry. Yet the king, regardless of these difficulties, was inclined to attack the enemy in front. But, through the persuasion of mareschal Schwerin, he changed his opinion, and permitted that able general to make the attack on their right, where the ground falls gradually, and where the infantry could pass over some meadows, and the cavalry and heavy artillery over dams [25].

The action began about eleven o'clock; when the Prus-

[24] Lloyd, ubi sup.

[25] *Letter* from count Schwerin, general-adjutant to the mareschal of that name, who was present at the consultations.

sian cavalry having passed the dams, the Austrian generals perceived that the king's intention was to attack their right flank, and ordered all their cavalry thither from the left. These squadrons came with great celerity, and formed themselves with those on the right, in three lines. This movement was made with so much promptitude, that the prince of Schonaich, the Prussian lieutenant-general of horse (who had only sixty-five squadrons, against one hundred), afraid of being out-flanked, judged it necessary to attack the enemy instantly, without waiting for the cavalry of the right wing, which the king had ordered to reinforce him. The charge was vigorous; but the Prussians were twice repulsed. In the third attack, however, the Austrians were harassed by the bravery of twenty squadrons of hussars, led by general Ziethen, and pushed with such violence upon the grenadiers, as to throw them into confusion.

During this shock of the cavalry, the Prussian grenadiers of the left wing, having passed the meadows, were obliged to advance through a very narrow road, in order to join the rest of the line. As soon as they appeared on the other side of the defile, they were saluted by a battery of twelve-pounders, charged with cartridges, and forced to retire in the greatest disorder. They were followed by two whole regiments; and Schwerin's second battalion began to give way, when the mareschal himself took the colours of his regiment in his own hand, collected the broken troops, and boldly advanced against the enemy, exhorting the soldiers to follow him. He received a bullet in his breast, and instantly fell from his horse, without the least sign of life. But his death did not pass unrevenged.

The king, observing that the Austrian right wing, in the ardour of pursuit, had advanced so far as to leave an opening between it and the left, gladly seised the opportunity of occupying that vacant space. And while he thus separated the enemy's wings, he, by an additional stroke of gene-

ralship, ordered a body of troops to possess the ground where his own left had stood; so that when the Austrian right was forced back by the courage of Schwerin, and the exertions of the officer who succeeded him in the command, that body found itself surrounded, and fled in confusion toward Maleschiz, while the left, furiously attacked by the infantry under prince Henry, with fixed bayonets, was obliged to take refuge in Prague. The centre also was broken, after an obstinate dispute, and chased into the same city [26].

Such was the famous battle of Prague, in which the valour and military skill of the Austrians and Prussians were fully tried, and which proved fatal to two of the greatest generals in Europe. For the gallant Brown received a wound, which his chagrin rendered mortal; though his pride is supposed to have been more hurt by being obliged to command under prince Charles of Lorrain than by the event of the day. On both sides the loss was very considerable. About three thousand Prussians were killed, and six thousand wounded, beside three hundred and ninety-seven officers, many of whom were of high rank. The loss of the Austrians, in killed, wounded, and taken, cannot reasonably be computed at less than twelve thousand, although their accounts considerably diminished that number.

But these were all the immediate consequences of the victory. The main body of the Austrian army, still very numerous, found shelter in Prague, under the prince of Lorrain; and a strong corps, chiefly consisting of cavalry, joined mareschal Daun, who had recently arrived from Moravia, and encamped at Bohmisch-Brod, on hearing the disaster of the Austrians. The intrepid Frederic, however, elate with his good fortune, and thinking that every thing must submit to his victorious arms, invested Prague, with an army little superior to that confined within the walls!

26 Lloyd, vol. i.

It was certainly very extraordinary, that so great a general as the king of Prussia should think it possible to reduce an army of fifty thousand men, in so extensive a town as Prague, with one scarcely more than equal in point of number. Hence arose the memorable remark of the duke de Belleisle, who had defended the same town, as we have seen, in 1742, with fifteen thousand men against the whole power of the house of Austria, and retired with honour and glory, when he found his provisions fail: "I know "Prague; and if I were there with one half of the troops "under the prince of Lorrain, I would destroy the Prussian "army."

But the supineness of the Austrians in some measure justified the king's temerity. They suffered themselves to be shut up in Prague for six weeks, without making one vigorous effort for their enlargement; although the Prussian army, beside forming a chain of posts extending many miles, was separated by the river Moldau into two parts, either of which might have been cut off. Fifty thousand men, provided with arms and artillery, submitted to this inglorious restraint, and continued inactive till they began to feel the pressure of famine; and the prince of Lorrain seemed, at one time, disposed to capitulate. When count Brown, who was then confined to his bed, was consulted on that subject, he made the following spirited reply: "Tell prince "Charles, my advice is, that he should instantly march "out, and attack mareschal Keith [27]."

The prince, however, did not choose to proceed to that extremity, so long as any hope of relief remained; and Frederic, by a new and more extraordinary instance of self-confidence than any he had yet exhibited, saved the Austrian army from the necessity of such a desperate effort, or the indelible disgrace of a surrender. Contemning the strength of the garrison, he had sent out several detachments to raise

[27] Lloyd, ubi sup.

contributions, and to seise or destroy the magazines which the Austrians had formed in different parts of Bohemia. Elate with the success of these detachments, and fearing that Daun, whose army nearly amounted to forty thousand men, might not only disturb his operations, but give prince Charles, by some manœuvre, an opportunity of escape, he dispatched the prince of Bevern, with twenty-five thousand men, to drive him farther back.

As the Prussians advanced, mareschal Daun prudently retired, successively to Kolin, Kuttenberg, and Haber. But no sooner had he received all the reinforcements he expected, than he attempted to bring the prince of Bevern to action; and even, by rapid marches, to cut off his communication with the army before Prague. Informed of the enemy's motions, the king quitted his camp, with ten battalions and twenty squadrons, and, marching toward Kolin, formed a junction with the prince. He found the Austrian army drawn up in two lines; the infantry, contrary to the common disposition, on the wings, and the cavalry in the centre. The right wing was posted on a hill, extending toward Kuttenberg and Kolin; the left on a more lofty hill, situate toward Zasmuck. At the bottom of these two hills, and in the intervening space, which was covered by a chain of fish-ponds and morasses, Daun had extended two lines of horse, and kept a third in reserve; for, as he knew that the Prussians were stronger in cavalry than in infantry, the king having with him ninety squadrons, and only twenty-eight battalions, he supposed they would make their greatest effort against the centre of the Austrian army, with a view of dividing it. But when he perceived the king's intention of assaulting the right flank, he ordered his body of reserve to march to the right wing, and cover the flank. And he afterward directed his second line to march also thither, close up to the reserve.

His Prussian majesty, having reconnoitred the position of the Austrians, resolved to attack June 18.

them, notwithstanding the strength of their post and their superiority in point of number. The grand attack, conducted by prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, and supported by a powerful artillery, was pushed with extraordinary fury upon the Austrian right wing, which was at first thrown into disorder, but quickly recovered itself, and afterward behaved with great firmness and gallantry. This conflict lasted about an hour and a half. Then the fire of the Prussian infantry began to slacken; and they were obliged to retire, that they might draw breath. They soon renewed the combat; but were again compelled to yield to superior strength. Seven times did they return to the charge, from two till half past six o'clock. About that time, the last and most violent effort was made by the king in person, at the head of his cavalry. It was continued till after seven; when the Prussians, sinking under numbers and the disadvantage of ground, in which their cavalry could not properly act, were constrained to relinquish the contest. But they remained on the field till nine, and retired without being pursued. On both sides the slaughter was great, and nearly equal: about sixteen thousand men were killed or wounded. In consequence of the loss of this memorable battle [28], the king was obliged to raise the siege of Prague, and even to evacuate Bohemia.

General Lloyd's reflections on that siege, and on the battle of Kolin, are too interesting to be here omitted. He observes, that the siege of Prague, with so great an army in it, was an imprudent and dangerous measure, more espe-

[28] For the particulars of the battle of Kolin, and most of the other great actions between the Austrians and Prussians, the author is indebted to the late major-general Lloyd, whose excellent, but unfinished, *Campaigns*, must make his death sincerely lamented by all military men. Where this prime authority fails, recourse has been had to the accounts of the different actions published by the courts of Berlin and Vienna, as well as to those transmitted to the court of Versailles by French officers in the Austrian service, which seem in general more accurate and impartial, and form a kind of standard for judging of the two former.

cially as the king of Prussia was then in circumstances which required some decisive stroke, and that as soon as possible; that Prague covered no essential pass into the country which he wished to reduce, and contained no considerable magazine, neither was it necessary for the king to form one there, because the country itself furnished abundantly all kinds of subsistence; that if, instead of besieging this town, he had sent twenty thousand men, the morning after his victory, in pursuit of the Austrian right wing, which had fled to Beneschau, and marched with the main body of his army to Bohmisch-Brod against the forces of Daun, it is more than probable he might have destroyed both; that they certainly could not have retired without losing their artillery and baggage, and must have fallen back with the utmost expedition on the Danube; that prince Charles of Lorrain must likewise have marched to the Danube, to join the remainder of the Austrian army, being unable, situated as he then was, to undertake any thing of himself; that this would have given the king all the time necessary to reduce Olmutz, and even Prague itself, which must have been left to a common garrison; but that, allured by the uncertain and vain, though flattering, hope of making fifty thousand men prisoners, he lost sight of Daun and the Austrian right wing, and missed an opportunity of giving some decisive blow; that when, informed of the enemy's approach, he had still time to repair the fault he had committed,—" he might and " ought to have raised the siege of Prague, and have " marched with his whole force against mareschal Daun;" and, if he had succeeded, it is highly probable that he might also have routed prince Charles, before he could have reached the Danube[29].

In regard to the battle of Kolin itself, this ingenious author judiciously remarks, that, as his Prussian majesty was in proportion much stronger in cavalry than infantry, he

29 Lloyd, vol. i.

ought to have chosen the most convenient ground on the enemy's front for that species of troops; and that, as he had given them an opportunity, by making his dispositions in open day, to reinforce their right and its flank, whither they had brought two thirds of their army, he ought to have refused both his wings, and have made an effort with his cavalry, sustained by his infantry and artillery, on the enemy's centre, where they had only cavalry, and therefore most probably would have been forced to give way: whereas, by persisting to attack their right, he could bring only his infantry into action, the ground being very improper for cavalry, as well on account of the ravines and woods, as of the villages before the enemy's front; that, having resolved to attack the Austrian right wing, the king should have brought thither all his infantry, leaving only a line of horse on his right, which would have been sufficient, as the enemy's left could not quit its advantageous position, and descend into the plain; that this would have enabled him to sustain properly his van-guard, which was left exposed; to have taken the enemy in flank, and to have gained the battle. In a word, it appears from these reflections, that the king erred, in forming an attack where he could not conveniently combine the different species of arms; whereas the enemy had both infantry and cavalry, with a great artillery, to sustain the points attacked; in letting his van-guard advance so far, that it could not be supported by the line; and in attacking with too small a number of infantry, considering the nature of the ground. To these errors the loss of the battle may be attributed.

Nor were the arms of his Prussian majesty, or those of his allies, more fortunate in other quarters. No sooner did the Russians, who had hovered long on the frontiers, enter the kingdom of Prussia, than general Lehwald was ordered to oppose the intruders. He accordingly assembled about thirty thousand men, and took post at Insterburgh, to observe the motions of the enemy. Meanwhile general Fer-

mor, with one division of the Russian army, assisted by a fleet from Revel, carrying nine thousand soldiers, invested Memel; and, after a short siege, reduced that town, which was of great consequence to the Russians, as they could make it a military station, and a magazine of provisions and stores, that might be constantly supplied by means of their navy.

The whole Russian army, consisting of sixty-two thousand foot and nineteen thousand horse, besides Tartars, Calmucks, and Cossacks, now advanced toward the Pregel, under the command of Apraxin. Lehwald, on the approach of the enemy, retired to Wehlaw, where he continued until he received positive orders to hazard a battle. Having reconnoitred the position of the Russians, who were encamped at Gross Jagersdorff, near Norkitten, he attacked them with great fury. Though in a manner surprised, they received the shock with firmness; and, after a warm conflict of three hours, he was forced to retreat, though his loss was not very great.

Aug. 30.

Unacquainted with the valour and discipline of the Russian infantry, since found to be the best in Europe, Lehwald deprived himself of the power of making a vigorous or successful effort in any one point, by extending his little army in a line opposed to that of the enemy, which he in vain endeavoured to break, as they had every where, through this mistaken disposition, a much greater number of men in action than he could present. In vain did he attempt to divide their army, and take them in flank, by penetrating through some openings. They received the Prussians on the point of the bayonet, and forced them to give way. He drew off his troops, however, in good order, and re-occupied his former camp at Wehlaw [30].

While the Russians, now victorious, were ravaging Frederic's dominions on one side of Germany, the French

[30] Lloyd, vol. i. p. 145.

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were stripping him of his possessions on the other, and laying the electorate of Hanover under contribution. After the duke of Cumberland had passed the Weser, he continued to retreat before mareschal d'Estrées, until he reached the village of Hastenbeck. Having chosen an advantageous post, he there attempted to make a stand, on the 26th of July; but being worsted, after a spirited resistance, he was obliged to quit his station. Instead, however, of marching immediately after the action, as prudence seemed to dictate, toward Wolfenbuttel, Halberstadt, or Magdeburg, where he might have formed a junction with the Prussian forces, he retired to Hoya, under pretence of covering Bremen and Verden; though, in reality, in order to keep up a communication with Stade, whither had been removed the archives, and most valuable effects of Hanover.

In the mean time that electorate, abandoned to the enemy, was laid under contribution. And the duke de Richelieu, the celebrated conqueror of Minorca, having succeeded to the chief command of the French army, soon saw himself master of Bremen and Verden, and obliged the duke of Cumberland to take refuge under the cannon of Stade. There, encamped between the Weser and the Elbe, it was supposed his royal highness would be able to maintain his ground till the close of the campaign, as the season was already far in the decline. But the enemy having taken effectual measures for cutting off his communication with the Elbe, he was under the necessity of signing the singular

Sept. 8.

convention of Closter-seven; by which thirty-eight thousand Hanoverians, Hessians, and other Germans, were distributed into different quarters of cantonment, without being disarmed [31], or considered as prisoners

[31] The court of France afterward insisted on the *disarming* of the *troops*, though the *convention* had *observed* a *profound silence* on *that head*. It only stipulated, that, on the cessation of hostilities, the auxiliary troops should be

of war. The French were left, "till the *definitive recon-* "*ciliation* of the two sovereigns [32]," in full possession of the countries they had conquered, though under the express condition of abstaining from future violence, hostilities being immediately to cease on both sides.

Having thus subdued the German dominions of his Bri-

sent home, and that such part of the Hanoverian army as the duke of Cumberland could not place in the city of Stade should take quarters in the country beyond the Elbe, and not be recruited. (See the *Articles* of the *Convention* itself and the *Vindication* of the *King of England's Conduct as Elector of Hanover*, published by authority.) Notwithstanding the notoriety of this fact, two contemporary authors have affirmed, that, in consequence of the convention of Closter-seven, "thirty-eight thousand Hanoverians laid down their arms!" *Contin. Hist. Eng.* vol. ii.——*Annual Reg.* 1758.

32 This indefinite mode of expression gave rise to one of the most intricate disputes that ever employed the pens of political writers; and, as self-interest dictated the arguments on both sides of the question, much ingenuity and force of reasoning were displayed. The French with great plausibility maintained, that no other meaning could reasonably be affixed to the words of the convention (which however they attempted to mend by certain Jesuitical explications) than that which was natural and obvious; that the suspension of arms was to continue, and they were consequently to remain in possession of their conquests, till a general pacification. *(Parallel of the Conduct of the King of France with that of the King of England.)* The English ministry, on the other hand, affirmed, that the suspension of arms was a mere military regulation, which was to continue in force only till the issue of a negotiation, then depending (begun by his Britannic majesty, in quality of elector of Hanover), and the expected declaration of the courts of Vienna and Versailles relative to such negotiation; that this was the reason why it was not thought necessary to state a precise time for the duration of the armistice. The agreement was drawn up, they said, by the generals of the two armies, who agreed that it should be of force without the ratification of the two courts; a thing impossible, if it be supposed that the German dominions of the king of Great Britain were to be delivered up into the hands of foreigners till a general peace, of which there was not the least prospect. "But it is evident," added they, "that "France herself did not understand the hands of the Hanoverians to be tied "up till a general peace, by the suspension of arms concluded at Closter- "seven, from her insisting on having that stipulated, as an express condition, "in her artful scheme of explication, proposed by the count de Lynar, the "Danish minister." *Vindication of the King of England's Conduct as Elector of Hanover.*

tannic majesty, the French could act with greater vigour against the king of Prussia. The duke de Richelieu accordingly made his way into Halberstadt and the Old Marche of Brandenburgh; exacting contributions, and wantonly plundering the towns. The troops of the empire, under the prince of Hildburghausen, reinforced by the French under Soubise, were on full march to enter Saxony. Twenty thousand Swedes, commanded by general Ungern Stornberg, had already entered Prussian Pomerania, under pretence of guarantying the treaty of Westphalia; and having taken the towns of Demin and Anclam, and reduced the islands of Usedom and Wollin, they laid the whole country under contribution, without meeting with the smallest resistance, as the garrison of Stetin, consisting of ten thousand men, could not leave that important fortress, in order to check their progress. The kingdom of Prussia was still a prey to the barbarities of the Russians. One Austrian army had entered Silesia, and formed the siege of Schweidnitz; while another, penetrating through Lusatia, passed the Prussian armies, and, suddenly presenting itself before Berlin, laid that capital under contribution. The ruin of his Prussian majesty seemed inevitable.

This illustrious prince, driven out of Bohemia, was surrounded by powerful armies; and, in consequence of the convention of Closter-seven, he seemed to be deserted by the only ally on whom he could place any dependence. In what manner he extricated himself out of these difficulties, and what line of policy was pursued, in such delicate circumstances, by his Britannic majesty, we shall soon have occasion to see.

LETTER XXXIII.

A Survey of the State of Europe, and History of the general War, continued from the Convention of Closter-seven, to the Battle of Minden, in 1759.

THE affairs of England, where tumult, clamour, and discontent had long prevailed, were still in disorder, when intelligence arrived of the humiliating convention of Closter-seven, which overwhelmed the court with shame and confusion. Pitt and Legge, the two popular ministers, had been restored to their respective offices, in compliance with the general wish of the nation, expressed in many warm addresses to the throne. But they had not yet had time to plan any regular system of measures; and their first enterprise miscarried, to the no small mortification of their friends, and to the severe disappointment, sorrow, and surprise of the whole kingdom.

June 29.

This was an expedition to the coast of France, projected with a view of raising the spirits of the people by an appearance of vigour, and the credit of the British arms, so sunk in the eyes of all Europe, by some great blow; and of inducing the French monarch to withdraw part of his troops from Germany, for the defence of his own dominions, instead of prosecuting foreign conquests. Its ultimate purpose was the relief of the electorate of Hanover, and its immediate object the destruction of the French shipping and naval stores at Rochefort. The destination of the armament, however, was kept a profound secret. But the highest expectations of success were formed from the magnitude of the preparations, and the confidence which the public had

in the abilities of Mr. Pitt, by whom the enterprise was said to have been planned.

These expectations, however, began in some measure to abate, in consequence of unforeseen delays, before the sailing of the fleet. At length, on the ill-omened day that the duke of Cumberland signed the convention of Sept. 8. Closter-seven, the formidable armament put to sea. It consisted of eighteen ships of the line, under Sir Edward Hawke, beside frigates, fire-ships, bomb-ketches, and a number of transports, carrying ten regiments of land forces, commanded by Sir John Mordaunt. The hopes of the people were now revived: their petitions to Heaven were fervent; and imagination, warmed by vows and wishes, fondly looked forward to some important conquest. What then was the astonishment of the nation, when this very expensive armament, after beating off the coast of France for three weeks, and filling the inhabitants of the sea-ports with terror, returned to England without having taken even a fishing-town!—without having attempted or effected any thing, except destroying some half-finished fortifications on the isle of Aix, situated at the mouth of the river Charente, which leads up to Rochefort.

Language cannot paint the expressions of disappointment that appeared in every countenance. Every heart seemed to feel the national disgrace, and every eye to lighten with indignation at the conduct of those who were employed in the expedition. The officers endeavoured to throw the blame of their miscarriage on the ministry, for having planned an impracticable enterprise. The ministers, supported by the voice of the people, retorted the charge, by accusing the officers of cowardice or incapacity. A court of inquiry, appointed by his majesty, slightly censured the conduct of Sir John Mordaunt; while a court-martial, composed of officers of reputation, acquitted him of the charge of disobeying his instructions. The public opinion remained the same.

In the course of this trial and inquest it appeared, that the ministry had reason to believe, on good information, that an attempt upon Rochefort would be very practicable. Nor was there any thing offered to prove the impracticability of such an attempt, if it had been made when the fleet first arrived before that port. But it was proved, to the satisfaction of every unprejudiced mind, and to the severe regret of all lovers of their king and country, of every man who had any pride in the military glory of England, that the time which ought to have been employed in action was spent in consultations and councils of war, and the proposed descent relinquished without any sufficient cause [1]. In a word, the principal officers, admiral Hawke excepted, seemed desirous of avoiding a disembarkation. And their frequent consultations, notwithstanding the ardour of the troops, who were impatient to retrieve the honour of their country, seemed to have been more intended to frame a concerted apology for not making a descent than to plan any scheme of attack or hostility.

While the people of Great Britain were mourning over this shameful miscarriage, which, joined to the accumulating misfortunes of the king of Prussia, and the mortifying convention of Closter-seven, exhibited a most melancholy picture of their affairs in Europe, those in America did not afford a more flattering prospect. Although a considerable reinforcement of troops had been sent thither, with a great supply of warlike stores, the third campaign served only to swell the triumphs of the enemy.

The attack upon Crown Point, so long meditated, was laid aside for an expedition against Louisbourg. The earl of Loudon accordingly left New York in July, with a body of six thousand men, and sailed for Halifax; where he was joined by admiral Holbourne with a considerable fleet, and about five thousand soldiers. But when the fleet and army were almost ready to proceed for Cape Breton, in-

[1] See the printed *Evidence* in the publications of the times.

formation was brought to Halifax, that the Brest fleet, consisting of seventeen ships of the line, beside frigates, with a reinforcement of troops, and an abundant supply of ammunition and provisions, had arrived at Louisbourg. This intelligence immediately suspended the preparations, and damped the ardor of the British officers. Councils of war were holden one after another; and the result of the whole was, that, as the place which had been the object of their armament was so amply reinforced, the French fleet rather superior to the English, and the season of the year so far advanced, it was advisable to defer the enterprise to a more favourable conjuncture.

Thus terminated the projected expedition against Louisbourg, like that against Rochefort, in a manner inglorious to the British arms, and disgraceful to the spirit of the British officers. But those were not the worst consequences that attended it.

Since the reduction of Oswego, the French had remained masters of the great lakes: nor could the British forces prevent their collecting the Indians from all parts, and seducing or compelling them to act in their favour. The country of the Five Nations, the only body of Indians who preserved even the shadow of friendship to England, was abandoned to the mercy of the barbarous enemy. The British forts at the great carrying-place were demolished, and Wood Creek was industriously shut up. In consequence of these unfortunate circumstances, all communication with our Indian allies was cut off; and what was still worse, the whole English frontier was exposed, with scarcely a shadow of protection, to the irruptions of the French and their desolating savages. The fine settlements on the Mohawk river, as well as on the ground called the German Flats, were destroyed.

Elate with these advantages, the French were ambitious of distinguishing the campaign by some important blow. And no sooner did the marquis de Montcalm learn, that

lord Loudon, with the main body of the English forces, had left New-York, than he determined to lay siege to Fort William Henry. This fort had been built on the southern side of Lake George, to cover the frontier of the British settlements, as well as to command the lake. The fortifications were good, and the place was defended by about two thousand five hundred men, under colonel Monro. Nor were those its only security. Four thousand five hundred men, commanded by general Webb, were posted at no great distance, and a much greater force might have been assembled. The French troops, collected from Crown Point, Ticonderoga, and the adjacent forts, together with a party of Indians and Canadians, are said to have amounted to nine thousand men. With these, and a good train of artillery, Montcalm advanced against the object of his enterprise, while Webb beheld his approaches with an indifference bordering on infatuation, or intimately allied to baseness. In a word, the besiegers, meeting with no obstruction from the quarter whence they dreaded it most, obliged the fort to surrender. They allowed the garrison, by the articles of capitulation, to march out with the honours of war. But the Indians pillaged the soldiers as soon as they left the place, and fiercely attacked the savages in the English service, dragging them out of their ranks, scalping them, and exercising every species of cruelty known among the natives of North America [2]. And what is yet more extraordinary, and what it is to be hoped posterity will not credit, two thousand Britons, with arms in their hands, and in danger every moment of becoming the victims of such violence, remained tame spectators of these barbarities, or sought safety only in flight!

The marquis de Montcalm, however, who was not destitute of a generous spirit, was able at length to quell the fury of the savages, and treated the sufferers with humanity. Yet from

[2] These barbarities are strongly delineated in many letters from the officers, written after their arrival at New York.

his summons to colonel Monro, when he began the siege, we may infer, that he meant, in case of resistance, to strike terror into the British troops by a new display of Indian cruelty. " I am still able," says he, " to *restrain* the *sa-* " *vages*, and *to oblige* them *to observe* a *capitulation*, as none " of them have been *killed*; but this *control* will not be in " my power in *other circumstances* [3]."

When intelligence of these new losses and disgraces arrived in England, the people, already sufficiently mortified, sunk into a general despondency. And some moral and political writers, who pretended to foretell the ruin of the nation, and ascribed its misfortunes to a total corruption of manners and principles, and an extinction of martial spirit, obtained general credit [4]. But the more zealous friends of the new administration, in conjunction with the younger officers of the army and navy, warmly vindicated the national character, and seemed to long for an opportunity of giving the lie to the visionary prognostics of splenetic theory and querulous melancholy. In the mean time public opinion, ever fluctuating, and wholly governed by events, took a less gloomy direction. The first ray of hope came from the East.

When admiral Watson returned to the coast of Coromandel, after reducing the fortress of Gheriah, he was informed of the loss of Calcutta, and of all the horrid circumstances with which it had been attended. Eager for revenge, he took on board Mr. Clive, now advanced to the rank of colonel, with part of the company's troops at Madras, and sailed for the bay of Bengal. By a zealous cooperation of the sea and land forces, the town and fort of Calcutta were recovered; and Mr. Drake and the mem-

3 *Letter*, signed MONTCALM, Aug. 3, 1757.

4 Of these writers the most distinguished was Dr. Brown, whose *Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times*, abounding with awful predictions, was bought up and read with incredible avidity, and seemed to be as much confided in as if he had been divinely inspired.

bers of the council were again put in possession of the government.

Not content with this success, the British commanders also reduced the large town of Ougli, where the soubahdar had established his principal magazines. Enraged at these losses, and dreading farther injury, Souraj-ud-Dowlah assembled a great army, and marched toward Calcutta, that he might severely chastise the audacity of the invaders, if not finally expel every Englishman from the province of Bengal. But he met with so warm a reception from colonel Clive, captain Coote, and other gallant officers, at the head of the company's troops, reinforced with six hundred sailors from the fleet, that he was induced to sue for peace, and agree to such terms as the English commanders thought proper to dictate. He engaged to restore all the factories, goods, and money, which had been seised by his orders; to reinstate the company in all its privileges; and allow the extension of the presidency over thirty-eight neighbouring villages, conformably to a disputed grant that had been obtained from the Great Mogul[5].

Apprised of the new war between France and Great Britain, and having nothing now to fear from the humbled soubahdar, Clive and his associates resolved to turn their arms against the French factories in Bengal. Their first object was the reduction of Chandernagore, the principal French settlement in the province, and a place of great strength. In the expedition against this town and fort, Clive commanded seven hundred Europeans, and sixteen hundred *Sepoys*, or soldiers of the country, habituated to the use of fire-arms. The squadron, consisting of three sail of the line and a sloop, was conducted by the admirals Watson and Pocock. The place was defended by six hundred Europeans, and three hundred Sepoys, who gallantly disputed every post. But the powerful cannonade from the ships,

[5] Orme's *Hist. Indost.* book vii.——Lond. *Gazette*, Sept. 20, 1757.

and from two batteries, mounted with twenty-four-pounders, that assailed with a cross-fire the two bastions of the fort against which the men-of-war laid their broadsides, obliged the garrison to surrender, after a short but vigorous conflict.

As conquest naturally expands the views of the conqueror, Clive, who was formed for vast undertakings, no sooner found himself in possession of Chandernagore, than he conceived the design of humbling still farther the soubahdar of Bengal, and of advancing to a yet greater height the interests of the company. And the conduct of that prince furnished him with many pretexts for renewing hostilities.

Souraj-ud-Dowlah was backward in fulfilling the treaty he had lately concluded with the company. He attempted to evade the execution of its chief articles; and he had entered into secret intrigues with the French, to whom he seemed disposed to afford protection in return for support. The English colonel therefore resolved to compel him to perform his stipulations; and, in case of refusal, to chastise him for his breach of faith, and even to divest him of his authority. In the last resolution he was confirmed (if it was not suggested) by a discovery of the disaffection of Jaffier, commander in chief of the forces of the province, and of the intrigues of the soubahdar with the French officers in the Dekan.

The measures employed by Clive, to accomplish this revolution, do no less honour to his sagacity and address, as a politician, than to his vigour and skill as a commander. While he conducted an intricate and dangerous negotiation with Jaffier, by means of his agents, he counterfeited friendship so artfully, as not only to quiet the suspicions of the despot, but to induce him to dissolve his army, which had been assembled at Plassy, a strong camp to the south of his capital, before the taking of Chandernagore, in consequence of a report, that the English commander intended to attack Mourshed-abad. "Why do you keep your forces in the

"field," said he insidiously, "after so many marks of "friendship and confidence?—They distress the merchants, "and prevent us from renewing our trade. The English "cannot remain in Bengal without freedom of commerce. "Do not reduce us to the necessity of suspecting, that you "mean to destroy us as soon as you have an opportu- "nity [6]."

To quiet these pretended fears, Souraj-ud-Dowlah recalled his army, though not without great anxiety. "If," cried he, with keen emotion, "the colonel should deceive "me!"—And the secret departure of the English agents from Mourshed-abad soon convinced him that he was deceived. He again assembled his army, and ordered it to reoccupy the camp of Plassy; after having made Jaffier, by the most solemn oaths upon the Koran, renew his obligations of fidelity and allegiance.

The English commander, who had hoped to take possession of that important post, was not a little disconcerted by this movement. The soubahdar had reached Plassy, twelve hours before, at the head of about fifty thousand foot, and eighteen thousand horse. These forces were protected by fifty pieces of cannon, planted in the openings between the columns, into which the Indian army was divided, and partly directed by forty Frenchmen. Clive, however, though surprised at the number, and at the formidable array of the foe, resolved to give battle. He accordingly drew up his little army, consisting of about one thousand Europeans, and two thousand Sepoys, under cover of eight field-pieces. The cannonade was brisk on both sides, from eight o'clock in the morning till near noon; when a heavy shower damaged the powder of the enemy, whose fire then began to flag.

Nor was this the only circumstance in favour of the English army. Souraj-ud-Dowlah, who had hitherto re-

6 Orme, ubi sup.

mained in his tent beyond the reach of danger, and been flattered every moment with assurances of victory, was now informed that the emir Mourdin, the only general on whose fidelity he could rely, was mortally wounded. Overwhelmed by so weighty a misfortune, he sent for Jaffier; and throwing his turban on the ground, "Jaffier!" exclaimed he, "that turban you must defend." The traitor bowed, and, putting his hand to his breast, promised his best services. But no sooner did he join his troops, than he sent a letter to colonel Clive, acquainting him with what had passed, and requesting him either instantly to push on to victory, or to storm the camp during the following night.

The letter, however, was not delivered till the fortune of the day was decided; so that Clive was still in some degree of suspense with respect to the ultimate intentions of Jaffier. Meanwhile the soubahdar, understanding that his general continued inactive, suddenly ordered a retreat. Mounting a camel, soon after, he fled toward Mourshed-abad, accompanied by two thousand horsemen. And the English army, having surmounted every difficulty, entered his camp about five in the afternoon, without any other obstruction than what was occasioned by baggage and stores; it being utterly abandoned by his troops, who fled on all sides in the utmost confusion[7].

Having at length received Jaffier's letter, Clive pressed on with his victorious army to Daudpore, regardless of the rich plunder of the enemy's camp. He arrived there in the evening; and the next morning he acknowledged the traitor as soubahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. Jaffier now hastened with his troops to Mourshed-abad, whither he was followed by the English commander. From that city, Souraj-ud-Dowlah had made his escape in disguise, accompanied only by his favourite women, and by the eunuch who governed his seraglio, having lost all confidence in his sol-

[7] Orme, book vii.

diers, and in his officers both civil and military. He was taken, brought back to his capital, and put to death by order of the son of Jaffier; an ambitious and cruel youth, who was unwilling to leave any thing in the power of fortune that violence could secure. Nor can his conduct be blamed on the maxims of Asiatic policy. His father's sway, which otherwise might have been disputed, was instantly acknowledged over the three provinces.

It now only remained for colonel Clive to compel Jaffier, whom he had seated on the *musnud* or throne, to fulfil the conditional engagements into which he had solemnly entered, before the English army was put in motion for his support. After attempting some evasions, by pleading the lowness of his predecessor's treasury, he found it necessary to adhere to every stipulation. And a treaty to the following purport was read, and acknowledged to have been signed by him.

"I engage, that, as soon as I shall be established in the " government of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, I will main- " tain the treaty of peace concluded with the English " by Souraj-ud-Dowlah; that the enemies of the English " shall be my enemies, whether they be Indians or Euro- " peans; that all the effects and factories belonging to the " French in Bengal, the paradise of nations, or in Bahar " and Orissa, shall remain in the possession of the English; " and I will never more allow the former to settle in any " of the three provinces;—that, in consideration of the " losses sustained by the company from the capture and " plunder of Calcutta, and the charges occasioned by main- " taining forces to recover the factories, I will give one " *crore* of rupees," equivalent to twelve hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling;—" and, for the effects " taken from the English inhabitants of Calcutta, I will " give fifty *lacks* of rupees," equivalent to six hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds sterling. He also agreed to indemnify the Armenian, Gentoo, and other Asiatic inha-

bitants of Calcutta, and greatly to enlarge the territory of the company. In a word, the indemnifications and restitutions, with a donation of fifty lacks of rupees to the fleet and army, exclusive of private gratuities, amounted to the enormous sum of two millions seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling. Near one third of that sum was immediately paid in coined silver [8].

Before information arrived in England of this great revolution in the south of Asia, so favourable to the interests of Great Britain, a variety of events had occurred in Europe, which contributed to revive the spirit of the English nation, and gave a more agreeable turn to the affairs of his Britannic majesty and his allies.

While the king of Prussia was occupied in observing the motions of the Austrians, and struggling to obtain a footing in Bohemia, the German and French troops, under the princes of Hildburghausen and Soubise, assumed the title of the *Combined Army*, whose immediate object it was to drive the Prussians out of Saxony. The generals of this army accordingly resolved to march down the Sala (supposing they had nothing to apprehend from his Prussian majesty), and begin their operations with the siege of Leipsic. This enterprise they chose, in preference to any other, because they would there be at hand to receive succours from Richelieu's army, now entirely at liberty, in consequence of the convention of Closter-seven; and also because, in case of success, they could take up their winter-quarters in that part of Saxony, and afterward proceed, in full force, to the entire conquest of the country, as well as to that of Magdeburg and Brandenburg. But their schemes were disconcerted by the vigilance and activity of the enterprising Frederic.

Aware of the necessity of opposing the progress of the French and Imperialists, or of humbling himself at the feet of his enemies, that prince pursued a line of conduct worthy

8 Orme, ubi sup.——Lond. *Gazette*, Feb. 14, 1758.

of a hero and a commander. Leaving forty battalions and seventy squadrons under the prince of Bevern, to defend Silesia, he marched to Dresden; quickly assembled a new army, and proceeded to the Sala. The enemy, on his approach, retired to Eisenach. He followed, with an intention of giving battle; but found his adversaries too advantageously posted to render an attack advisable; and, as they seemed studiously to decline an action, he fell back on the Sala, the better to subsist his troops. Various movements were afterwards made by both armies. And the associated generals, having received a reinforcement under the duke de Broglio, during the absence of his Prussian majesty, who had been obliged to march to the relief of his capital, resumed their resolution of penetrating into Saxony. They accordingly marched to Weissenfels, and sent the count de Mailly to summon Leipsic.

Mareschal Keith, who had thrown himself into that town with six thousand men, treated the summons with contempt. And before the enemy could form the siege, he was happily joined by the king, who now resolved to give battle to the combined army, with less than half its number. With this view he passed the Sala at Weissenfels, Mersburg, and Halle (the enemy having repassed that river on his approach), and assembled his troops near the village of Rosbach. The combined forces were encamped in the neighbourhood; and Frederic, having examined their position, advanced to attack them; but finding that they had changed their station, he desisted from the attempt. The hostile generals, considering his caution as the effect of fear, and elate with their superiority of number, put their troops in motion to bring him to an engagement, their cavalry being in front, and their infantry in the rear.

The king, perceiving that their purpose was to attack his left flank, ordered the main body of his army to march in that direction, behind the heights of Reichertswerben. These concealed his motions; and, far- Nov. 5.

ther to deceive the enemy, he left his camp standing, as if he had been in the most perfect, and even infatuated security. Confident of victory, the French and Imperialists advanced with such precipitation, that their ranks were thrown into some disorder in their march; and being attacked before they were completely prepared for action, they were routed by the Prussian horse. Their cavalry attempted to rally behind the village of Busendorff; but the Prussians pursued their advantage with an ardor which commanded success.

Meanwhile the generals of the combined army endeavoured to form their infantry, though with little effect; for the Prussian foot, supported by the cavalry and artillery, prevailed over all opposition. Soubise had ordered the body of reserve, consisting of five regiments of cavalry, to advance and sustain the infantry; but these fresh regiments were soon broken, and driven off the field; and a complete victory remained to his Prussian majesty, who did not lose above five hundred men; whereas the loss of the enemy nearly amounted to nine thousand, including killed, wounded, and prisoners. Among the last were eleven generals, and three hundred officers of inferior rank[9].

With the battle of Rosbach ended the campaign in Saxony, the combined army being no longer fit for action. But there was yet no rest for the victorious Frederic. A great army of Austrians and Hungarians, under prince Charles of Lorrain, assisted by mareschal Daun and general Nadasti, had entered Silesia, in spite of all the efforts of the prince of Bevern, and threatened an entire conquest of that fine province, which had been the cause of so much bloodshed. Their first enterprise was the siege of Schweidnitz; a rich, populous, and strong town, situated in a plain near the mountains which separate Silesia from Bohemia, and garrisoned with six thousand men.

The siege of this important place was committed to

9 Lloyd, vol. i. p. 97.

Nadasti, who invested it on the 26th of October. Meanwhile the prince of Bevern lay encamped in the neighbourhood of Breslau, for the protection of that capital; while the prince of Lorrain took post at no great distance to watch his motions, and prevent his marching to the relief of Schweidnitz. Nadasti, being considerably reinforced during the siege, conducted his operations with so much vigour, that, three redoubts being carried at once by assault, the place was taken, and its defenders were made prisoners of war, after the trenches had been open only sixteen days. Nov. 11.

Prince Charles, having thus secured a communication with Bohemia, by acquiring the command of the defiles, and also a place well stored with provisions, into which he might retire in case of disaster, was encouraged to attack the prince of Bevern in his camp, as soon as he was rejoined by Nadasti. The cannonading began at nine in the morning, and was continued with great fury till noon, when the Prussian entrenchments were assailed in every quarter. Twice were the Austrians repulsed with great slaughter; but their third attack was irresistible. The Prussians were driven from most of their redoubts; and the prince of Bevern, taking advantage of the friendly approach of night, which alone prevented his entrenchments from being entirely forced, abandoned his lines, and retired behind the Oder. Nor was this his only misfortune. Going to reconnoitre the victorious enemy, two days after the battle, he was taken by a party of Croats, and Breslau surrendered to the Austrians [10]. Nov. 22.

In this desperate situation were the affairs of his Prussian majesty, notwithstanding his success at Rosbach. At that time anxious for the safety of Silesia, the great bone of contention, he advanced to Parchwitz on the Oder, where he was joined by the remains of the forces lately commanded by the

10 Lloyd, vol. i.

prince of Bevern; the whole forming a gallant army of thirty-six thousand men, determined to conquer or die with their leader.

The Austrians, thinking the campaign finished, were preparing to go into winter-quarters [11], when they heard of the approach of the warlike monarch. It rather surprised than alarmed them. Prince Charles and Daun immediately resolved to give him battle. Having left a strong garrison in Breslau, they passed the river at Schweidnitz, at the head of eighty thousand men, and were advancing toward Glogau, with the fullest assurance of victory, when they were met by the Prussians at Leuthen, near Lissa. There a general engagement took place.

Dec. 5.

The Austrians and their associates were drawn up in a plain, behind several little hills, which were all covered with heavy cannon; and their left was farther secured by a mountain and a wood, also planted with artillery. The village of Nypern on the right wing, and that of Leuthen on the left, were likewise fortified, and filled with infantry. But the prince and mareschal Daun made less use than might have been expected of so advantageous a position. Deceived by the rapid motions of the king of Prussia toward their right, against which he made violent demonstrations, they drew their chief strength thither; whilst he, concealed by some heights which they had neglected to occupy, brought his whole force, by a sublime stroke of generalship, to bear upon their left, against which he had meditated his real attack [12]. Daun, who commanded in person on the right of the Austrians, instead of attacking the thin left wing of the Prussians, which he might certainly

[11] Lloyd, vol. i.

[12] The description of this battle is drawn from a diligent comparison of the Prussian and Austrian accounts, published by authority; yet the author of the historical article in the *Annual Register* for 1758 (said to be the late Dr. Campbell), and other English writers in blind submission to his authority, represent the *real attack* as having been made on the Austrian *right* wing.

have broken, and thus have divided the king's attention, as well as his force, ordered the right and centre to sustain the left wing, already in confusion, and retiring so fast as to throw the fresh troops into disorder; whilst the victorious enemy, advancing in order of battle, prevented them from forming. The left wing therefore excepted, the whole Austrian army was routed, one battalion after another.

Other circumstances contributed to the success of his Prussian majesty. The auxiliary troops, consisting of new levies from Bavaria and Wirtemberg, being injudiciously placed on the most exposed part of the Austrian left wing, were soon broken by the Prussian infantry. And the sagacious Frederic, whose superior genius enabled him to take advantage of the enemy's errors, and defeat their best-conducted schemes, having foreseen that Nadasti, with the body of reserve, would advance and attack the cavalry of his right wing, had wisely placed four battalions behind them; so that when this commander attempted to take the Prussians in flank, and had thrown some regiments of horse into confusion, the fire of the four concealed battalions obliged him to retire in disorder.

The Austrians, however, made a vigorous stand at the post of Leuthen, which was defended by the flower of their army. But after a fierce combat, when the Prussian infantry had been three times repelled in spite of their most strenuous efforts, the village was abandoned; and the victorious king pursued the enemy as far as Lissa.

The action lasted from one till four in the afternoon, when the Austrians were defeated in all quarters; and night only prevented the total ruin of the vanquished army. They left about five thousand men dead on the field, with an equal number wounded. And the Prussians took, within a week after the battle, twenty thousand prisoners, three thousand waggons, and two hundred pieces of cannon, with a great quantity of military trophies. Their own loss, in killed and

wounded, amounted to at least five thousand [13]. Of all the battles of modern times, few could be more honourable to the victors.

But the consequences of the battle of Lissa are the best proof of the importance of the victory, as well as of the honour with which it was gained. The terror inspired by the arms of Frederic, every where communicated by the celerity of his motions, was for a time of as much use as his effective force. He immediately invested Breslau, which surrendered in a few days, though garrisoned with sixteen thousand men, who were all made prisoners of war [14]. And prince Charles, having collected the remains of his broken force, retired into Bohemia before the close of the year.

Dec. 20.

Nothing now remained to the Austrians in Silesia, but the town of Schweidnitz, which his Prussian majesty was too prudent to invest during the rigour of winter, when his troops required repose; especially as he thought it must necessarily fall in the spring. And he was not deceived in his conjecture.

The same good fortune had attended the king's affairs in every quarter. The Russians, by making war like barbarians, had so exhausted the country they invaded, that they were obliged to return home, for want of provisions, on the approach of winter, leaving only a garrison in Memel. In consequence of this retreat, general Lehwald, who commanded the royal army in Prussia, was left at liberty with thirty thousand men. These he conducted into Pomerania, and obliged the Swedes to abandon the greater part of their conquests, and retire under the cannon of Stralsund, before the end of December. Meanwhile Keith had entered Bohemia, with eight thousand men, in the absence of the prince of Lorrain; and having raised contributions in dif-

[13] Lloyd, vol. i. p. 134. [24] Id. ibid.

ferent districts, and given an alarm even to Prague itself, he returned unmolested into Saxony.

Nor was this good fortune confined to the king of Prussia. It extended even to his subjected allies.

The French, intent only upon plunder, violated without scruple the convention of Closter-seven. And, in order more freely to indulge their rapacity, and preclude even the possibility of revenge, the duke de Richelieu insisted, that the brave but unfortunate Hanoverians and Hessians, who had acted under the duke of Cumberland, should deliver up their arms; while the court of Versailles, pretending that this and other stipulations had been omitted through neglect, refused to ratify the ignominious convention, unless certain explanations were added, although military conventions are supposed to require no ratification, and are never infringed but by the most faithless nations.

Roused by these injuries and indignities, by tyranny and rapine abetted by national treachery, but chiefly by the terror of being deprived of their arms, the last disgrace of soldiers, the Hanoverian troops, though distributed into different cantonments, secretly resolved to rescue their country from oppression, and had begun to collect themselves, in consequence of that resolution, when the victory obtained at Rosbach more fully awakened their courage, and confirmed them in their generous purpose.

Pleased with the zeal so conformable to his wishes, and thinking himself now fully released from the mortifying shackles of neutrality imposed upon him by the convention of Closter-seven, so shamefully violated and disavowed by the court of Versailles, his Britannic majesty invested prince Ferdinand of Brunswick with the chief command of his electoral forces, and ordered him to renew hostilities against his cruel and perfidious enemies. Assembled under this gallant leader, the Hanoverians bravely made head against their conquerors; and being reinforced in the beginning of the year by a body of Prussian horse, they

A. D. 1758.

pushed the French from one post to another, and obliged them to evacuate Lunenburg, Ottersberg, Bremen, and Verden.

The town and castle of Hoya, on the Weser, where the enemy attempted to make a stand, were reduced by the hereditary prince of Brunswick; while his uncle, prince Ferdinand, recovered the city of Minden, on the same river, and made prisoners a garrison of four thousand men. An English squadron, under commodore Holmes, compelled the French to abandon Embden, the capital of East Friseland; and the wretched remnant of a great and lately victorious army found the utmost difficulty in repassing the Rhine, without being entirely cut off by a body of men, whom it had, a few months before, vanquished, insulted, and trampled upon.

From this reproach, so justly merited by the French officers as well as soldiers, while they were in possession of Hanover, the duke de Randan, a nobleman of great honour and integrity, who commanded in the capital, was happily exempted. As the pride of conquest had never prompted him to behave with insolence, resentment had as little power to make him act with rigour on the adverse turn of affairs. He not only endeavoured, at all times, to restrain the soldiers within the bounds of discipline, but exhibited a glorious proof of humanity, when ordered to evacuate the place. Instead of destroying the magazine of provisions according to the usual, and often wantonly cruel, practice of war, he generously left the whole in the hands of the magistrates, to be either sold at a cheap rate, or given to the lower class of the inhabitants, who had long been exposed to the pressure of famine!

Never perhaps, in any one campaign, were the changes of fortune, the accidents of war, the power of generalship, or the force of discipline, so fully displayed, as in that of 1757. Influenced by those changes, the British ministry embraced a new system of policy. Mr. Secretary Pitt, who,

that he might govern the councils of his sovereign, had found it expedient to form a coalition with the duke of Newcastle and other members of the old administration, also thought fit to contradict his former sentiments, and the arguments founded upon them, and become the advocate of a German war. But perhaps such a sacrifice of sentiment was necessary, in order to enable the great commoner to serve his country, even in this preposterous manner. George, though a magnanimous prince, and a lover of his British subjects, was impatient of contradiction in whatever concerned his German dominions.

In consequence of the system now adopted, and the ardor with which the parliament and the people entered into the views of the ministry, a new agreement was signed at London, between the king of Prussia and his Britannic majesty. These princes engaged to conclude no treaty of peace, truce, or neutrality, but in full concert; and the latter promised to pay immediately to the former the sum of four millions of German crowns, or six hundred and seventy thousand pounds sterling, in order to enable him to maintain and augment his forces, to be employed in the common cause. Liberal supplies were also granted for the support of the army under prince Ferdinand of Brunswick: and it was farther resolved to reinforce it with a body of British troops. April 11.

The councils of Louis experienced a change, no less remarkable than that which had taken place in those of George. The French ministers had long been the sport of female caprice. It was their power of pleasing madame de Pompadour, a favourite mistress who entirely governed their king, that alone qualified them to serve their country. Some of the most honest and able men in the kingdom were dismissed from their employments with marks of disgrace, while others resigned their posts with indignation. But the misfortunes of the French arms, at length, obliged the court

of Versailles to call men to the public service upon public principles.

The duke de Belleisle, whose exploits I have already had occasion to relate, and whose abilities were known to all Europe, was placed at the head of the military department. "I know," said he, in entering on his office, "the miserable "state of our armies, and it fills me at once with grief and "indignation; for the disgrace and infamy which it reflects "upon our government are more to be lamented than the "evil itself:—I know but too well to what length the want "of discipline, pillaging, and licentious violence, have been "carried by our officers and common men, after the example "of their commanders. It mortifies me to think I am a "Frenchman. But, thank God! my principles are known "to be very different from those that have lately been "adopted.

"Had I commanded the army, many enormities would "have been repressed: a thousand things that have been "done would have been omitted; whilst others, that have "been neglected, would have been executed. I should "have multiplied my communications; I should have had "strong posts on the right, on the left, and in the centre: I "should have had magazines in all parts. The quiet and "satisfaction of the conquered, under a mild administration, "would have been equal to the resentment which they have "discovered at being plundered and oppressed; and we "should have been as much beloved and admired by them, "as we are at present contemned and abhorred. The "disastrous consequences of a different line of conduct are "too obvious to need being pointed out: they are severely "felt. We must not, however, supinely sink under our "misfortunes. A late reformation, though it seldom can "effectually remedy the disorder, is better than unavailing "complaint, or the tolerance of abuse; let us, therefore, "seriously begin the important work. There is yet room

"for hope: and, in our situation, the absence of future evil "may be esteemed a desirable good[15]."

The duke accordingly made every possible exertion to communicate strength and order to the French army upon the Rhine, now commanded by the count de Clermont, who had succeeded the ravenous and dissipated Richelieu. Troops were also assembled at Hanau under Soubise, supposed to be intended to penetrate into Bohemia, or to reinforce the army of the empire; but in reality to invade the territories of Hesse-Cassel, and oblige the landgrave to renounce the alliance of his Britannic majesty. In the mean time prince Ferdinand having passed the Rhine, in the face of fifty thousand men, attacked the count de Clermont at Crevelt, and obliged him to retire under the cannon of Cologne, after six thousand of his men had been killed, wounded, or captured. Among those who fell was the count de Gisors, only son of the duke de Belle-isle, who had been mortally wounded at the head of his regiment, while animating it by his example to make a vigorous effort. His fate was much lamented both by the victors and the vanquished. Having been educated with all the care which an enlightened father could bestow upon a son of fine talents, in order to enable him to maintain the reputation of his ancestors, he united the purest morals to the most elegant manners. He was not only a promoter of learning, but excelled in various branches of it. He had visited many parts of Europe, and read courts and nations with a discerning eye. He seemed to want only military experience to complete his attainments, and render him a support as well as an ornament to his country. He resolved to acquire such experience. Though lately married to the heiress of an illustrious house, himself the last hope of a most noble family, he entered that course of glory and danger, which his own ardent spirit and the wishes of his

June 23.

15 *Annual Register*, for 1758.

countrymen pointed out to him, and fell in his first campaign. The affectionate father, and patriotic minister, deeply mourned his loss, and mingled the private with the public tear.

The reduction of Dusseldorff, however, was the only visible effect of a victory, which did great honour to the military capacity of the Hanoverian general, and to the bravery of his troops. The French army (now commanded by M. de Contades), being on its own frontier, was quickly reinforced; and prince Ferdinand saw reason to apprehend, that he might soon be obliged to repass the Rhine, by an enemy whom he had lately defeated. But he resolved to maintain his ground as long as possible, in hopes of being joined by the British troops, the first division of which had already landed at Embden; and, on their arrival, he did not doubt of being able to transfer the seat of war from the Rhine to the Maes, and of gaining such advantages over Contades, as would make it necessary for the prince de Soubise to come to his assistance. In the mean time he flattered himself, that the prince of Ysenburg, who commanded the Hessian troops, would be able to protect the territories of the landgrave, and find sufficient employment for the French in that quarter. But in this hope he was disappointed:—and some unforeseen circumstances conspired to render his splendid scheme abortive.

The duke de Broglio, with a strong detachment from the army of Soubise, defeated the Hessians, on the twenty-third day of July, near Sangershausen. This victory gave the French the command of the Weser; and it was apprehended, if they should avail themselves of the advantages they had acquired, that they might be able to cut off the British troops, now on their march to join the Hanoverian army. In such circumstances, prince Ferdinand had no alternative, but to repass the Rhine or give battle to Contades. The French general studiously avoided an engagement; and heavy rains had rendered the passage of the Rhine exceedingly difficult.

Meanwhile M. de Chevert (who had passed that river some time before, with twelve thousand men, in order to attempt the recovery of Dusseldorff), having attacked baron Imhoff near the bridge of Rees, was repulsed with great slaughter. Imhoff joined the British forces; and Contades, convinced of the superiority of the Hanoverians in valour and discipline, though much inferior in point of number, permitted prince Ferdinand to repass the Rhine almost without molestation. The Hessians, assured of support, wore a good countenance, notwithstanding the defeat of general Oberg, who had been sent to their assistance; and the British troops were zealous for action. But the season being too far in the decline to allow any new plan of operations, the prince put his army into winter quarters in the bishopricks of Munster, Paderborn, and Hildesheim [16].

During these transactions on the Rhine, the king of Prussia had experienced several changes of fortune. Having spent the winter in Silesia, he began the campaign with the siege of Schweidnitz, and obliged the Austrian garrison to surrender within thirteen days. On the recovery of that important place, he divided his principal army, consisting of about fifty thousand men, into three bodies; the first commanded by Keith, the second by himself in person, and the third by prince Maurice of Anhalt Dessau. With this army, after threatening Bohemia, he suddenly entered Moravia; which, for various reasons, he intended to make the theatre of war, but for none more than its having been hitherto exempted from contribution. Meanwhile he dispatched his brother Henry, with thirty thousand men, to oppose the army of the empire, which the prince of Deux-Ponts had assembled near Bamberg.

As the king, by his rapid and unexpected march into Moravia, threw his enemies behind him, it was thought he would proceed directly to Vienna. But, though surely not

16 Lond. *Gazette*.

destitute of ambition, or of the power of forming great designs, he chose to pursue a more moderate line of conduct. He saw the danger of leaving an Austrian garrison in Olmutz, supported by an army in his rear; and therefore resolved to attempt the speedy conquest of that strong town. The trenches were accordingly opened before it, and with the most sanguine hopes of success. In the mean time Daun, having quitted his camp at Leutomyssel in Bohemia, entered Moravia by the way of Billa.

Too cautious, and perhaps too weak, to attempt the relief of Olmutz, by hazarding a battle, the Austrian general took post in the neighbouring mountains, between Gewitz and Littau; where he could be copiously supplied with provisions from Bohemia, and whence he could retard the operations of the besiegers, by keeping them in continual alarm, at the same time that he could throw succours into the place, and obstruct the Prussian convoys from Silesia. In the last, his chief object, he was particularly successful; for he intercepted a convoy of four hundred waggons near the defiles of Domstadt, and obliged general Ziethen, who escorted it, to retire to Troppau. As this loss could not be easily or quickly repaired—and as the Russians, already on the frontiers of Silesia, and laying every thing waste, in their progress, with fire and sword, were preparing to enter that fine country, yet bleeding from the ravages of war—the king saw the necessity of relinquishing his enterprise. But this gallant prince, who, although he sometimes forgot himself in prosperity, by being too elate, never sunk under the pressure of adversity, acquired as much honour in conducting his retreat, as Daun did in making it necessary. Instead of falling back upon Silesia, his most natural and obvious march, but which must have drawn the Austrians into his territories, he determined to take his route through the dominions of the enemy. And as Daun, more effectually to succour Olmutz, had been obliged to uncover the frontiers of Bohemia, his Prussian majesty found no difficulty in ac-

complishing his purpose. Having concealed, under an incessant fire, his intention of raising the siege, he lifted his camp at midnight; and proceeded with so little molestation, that he arrived at Koningingratz, one of the most important posts in Bohemia, with all his heavy baggage, all his heavy artillery, his military stores entire, and even all his sick and wounded [17]. Here he allowed his army some repose, and laid the neighbouring country under contribution. But that repose was of short duration. Understanding that the Russians, instead of invading Silesia, had entered the New Marche of Brandenburg, and invested Custrin, a fortified town within fifty miles of Berlin, he instantly marched to its relief; and notwithstanding the vigilance of the Austrian generals, and the activity of their light troops, he formed a junction with lieutenant-general Dohna, near Frankfort on the Oder, with very small loss.

July 1.

No sooner did the Russian generals, Brown and Fermor, receive intelligence of the king's approach, than they abandoned the siege of Custrin, and took post near Zwicker and Zorndorff. Though greatly out-numbered by the cruel invaders, Frederic resolved to give them battle; concluding that his troops were stimulated by every motive which could impel men to vigorous exertions. Revenge for barbarous wrongs, a desire of saving their country, on the brink of ruin, from future ravages, and of acquiring honour under the eye of a sovereign and a commander, who had often led them to glory and to conquest, he presumed must actuate their hearts. They did not disappoint his hopes.

Having passed the Mitzel, about nine o'clock in the morning, he attempted to turn the enemy's left wing; but the Russian generals, penetrating his purpose, defeated it by excellent dispositions. As the ground did not admit an extended line, they threw their army into the form of a square, defended on every side by cannon and *chevaux-de-frise*. And in this position they waited the at-

Aug. 25.

[17] Prussian and Austrian *Gazettes* compared.

tack of the Prussians, who began the battle with a powerful fire of artillery, which lasted near two hours. Then the king's infantry advanced to the charge, and completed the havock made by the artillery. Whole regiments of Russians were destroyed by bullets or bayonets, but not a man offered to quit his rank; and fresh regiments still pressing forward, the Prussian infantry, which had given and received so many terrible shocks with immoveable firmness, yielded to the collected impulse.

In that moment of danger and dismay, when all seemed lost, the intrepid Frederic, by a rapid and masterly movement, brought all the cavalry of his right wing to support his centre. Pressing upon the Russian foot, uncovered by their already broken horse, his cavalry pushed them back with great slaughter, and allowed the brave battalions leisure to recollect themselves. Returning to the charge, inflamed with rage and resentment at their disgrace, the infantry now decided the contest. The Russians were every where thrown into confusion. They no longer distinguished friends from foes: they fired upon each other in their ungovernable fury, and even plundered their own baggage. It was now no longer a battle, but a horrid carnage; yet the Russians, though thus distracted and broken (incredible as it may seem), did not offer to quit the field. They kept their ground till seven in the evening, when they made a new struggle for victory, and darkness only put a stop to the effusion of blood. Eight thousand of their number were left dead on the spot, and five thousand were severely wounded. The loss of the Prussians did not exceed two thousand men[18].

The Russians, in consequence of this severe chastisement, retreated before the victors as far as Landsperg on the frontiers of Poland; and the king, happy in having freed his dominions from such a dreadful scourge, hastened to the relief of Henry, who was nearly encompassed with enemies:

[18] *Letters* from the King of Prussia, &c. in Lond. *Gazette*, Sept. 8, 1758.— Other Publications of the Times.

but the strong position at Dipposewalde, which the prince had chosen in order to cover Dresden, and the timely arrival of his royal brother, extricated him from all his difficulties. His adversaries could not even prevent the king from joining him; and, on this junction, Daun fell back as far as Zittau, while the army of the empire took refuge in the strong post of Pirna, which the Saxons had occupied at the beginning of the war.

But the Austrian commander, though induced by his extreme caution to avoid an immediate engagement, did not for a moment lose sight of his antagonist. Advantageously posted at Stolpen, he preserved a communication with the forces of the empire, and watched the motions of his Prussian majesty with as keen an attention as ever Fabius, to whom he has been compared, did those of the great Carthaginian general.

The king, after various movements, calculated to protect Brandenburg from the incursions of the Austrians, and cut off their intercourse with Bohemia, took post in the neighbourhood of Hochkirchen, with his left at Bautzen; enabling himself to command both Misnia and Lusatia, and at the same time maintain a communication with the army of prince Henry. Daun, who had observed these motions with concern, advanced from Stolpen, and adopted the resolution of attacking the Prussian camp by surprise, as the only means of preserving his footing in Saxony, or finding his way out of it with safety.

Having communicated this design to the prince of Deux-Ponts, who still commanded the army of the empire, the Austrian general put his troops in motion about midnight, and arrived at the place of his destination, undiscovered, by five o'clock in the morning. The Prussian right wing was surprised and routed; and mareschal Keith and prince Francis of Brunswick were killed, in bravely attempting to turn the tide of battle. Their efforts, however, were not wholly without effect. The prince was early slain;

Oct. 15.

but Keith, at the head of the infantry, obstinately maintained the combat against the whole weight of the Austrian army. Though wounded, he refused to quit the field. He still continued to animate the companions of his perils; and he had repelled the Austrians by his persevering valour, and was pursuing them, when he received the deadly bullet in his breast[19].

The king, who never stood more in need of all his firmness, activity, and presence of mind, now assumed in person the command of his gallant infantry. But finding it impracticable to recover the village of Hochkirchen, which had been lost in the first surprise, he ordered his right wing to fall back as far as Weissenberg, the left still remaining at Bautzen. This position was nearly as good as the former. But, beside the loss of reputation inseparable from a defeat, he had lost two able generals, six thousand brave men, and the greater part of his camp-equipage[20]. Yet the Austrians had no reason for extraordinary exultation. They had lost nearly an equal number of men, without accomplishing their purpose. The vanquished enemy was still formidable.

Of this the victors soon had some distinguished proofs. So little was Frederic discouraged by his defeat, that he offered battle to Daun immediately after it. And as this commander not only declined the challenge, but kept cautiously within his fortified camp (in hopes of amusing his

[19] Lloyd, vol. i.——Mareschal Keith was brother to the attainted earl-marshal of Scotland; had been engaged with him in the rebellion of 1715, and was obliged on that account to abandon his country. He raised himself to the rank of a lieutenant-general in the Russian service in 1734, and highly distinguished himself against the Turks in 1737, especially at the taking of Oczakow, where he was wounded. In 1741 and 1742 he commanded against the Swedes, and gained the battle of Wilmanstrand. In 1747 he quitted the Russian service for that of Prussia. In 1749 he was made a knight of the Black Eagle and governor of Berlin, with a pension of twelve thousand dollars, beside his pay. In the present war he gave proofs of his being a great commander. He was a middle-sized man, with a very martial countenance, but of a humane and benevolent temper. Id. ibid.

[20] Prussian and Austrian *Gazettes* compared.

heroic antagonist, whom he durst not openly meet in the field, till some blow could be given in another quarter, or some new advantage stolen in an unguarded hour), the protector of his people, and the avenger of their wrongs, took a bolder method of shewing his superior generalship, and of recovering that trophy which had been torn from his brow, not by the sword of valour, but by the wily hand of stratagem. Darting, like the lightning of heaven, to a distant scene of action, he struck his enemies with terror, and mankind with admiration.

The Austrian generals (Harsche and de Ville) having already formed the siege of Neiss and the blockade of Cosel, he saw the necessity of marching to the relief of Silesia, be the fate of Saxony what it might. Committing this important conquest to the care of his brother, he quitted his camp at Dobreschutz; and by the celerity of his motions soon arrived, without any obstruction from the enemy, in the plain of Gorlitz.

In consequence of this rapid march, all the advantages of Daun's studied position, and the promised fruits of his boasted victory at Hochkirchen, were lost in a moment. An open passage into Silesia now lay before the Prussian monarch. And he pursued his route without interruption, or any considerable loss; though general Laudohn hung upon his rear with twenty-four thousand men, and another army was sent to attack him in front. In spite of the efforts of these armies, the intrepid Frederic baffled the aims of his adversaries. The siege of Neiss was raised on his approach, as was also the blockade of Cosel[21]. Nov. 1.

Having thus driven the Austrians out of Silesia, without being under the necessity of hazarding a battle, the king returned by the same route, and with the same expedition, to the relief of Saxony, now in a manner covered with the forces of his enemies. The army of the empire had obliged

[21] Publications of the Times.

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prince Henry to abandon his post at Seidlitz, and had cut off his communication with Leipsic, at the same time that Daun attempted to obstruct his intercourse with Dresden. He found means, however, to throw himself into the latter, and afterward to retire to the other side of the Elbe. Meanwhile the enemy laid siege to those two cities, and also invested Torgau. But the reduction of Dresden, before which Daun appeared with sixty thousand men, and which was defended only by a fifth part of that number, was the grand object of the foe. Count Schmettau, the Prussian governor, was therefore under the necessity of setting fire to the suburbs, in order to preserve the city for his master; and two hundred and sixty-six houses were consumed, but very few persons lost their lives [22].

This conflagration has been represented by the emissaries of the court of Vienna, and by certain declamatory writers, as a terrible outrage on humanity. But as it appears that the inhabitants had timely notice of the governor's intention [23], he seems to have acted in perfect conformity with the laws of war, even as explained by the benevolent spirit of Montesquieu. For those laws require, that, in military operations, the least public injury, consistent with the acquisition or preservation of dominion, be done to the body of the people [24].

By the destruction of the suburbs of Dresden, the cause of so much clamour and obloquy, the city was rendered more secure. It could not now be taken but by a regular siege; that must require time; and the king was hastening to its relief. These considerations induced Daun to relinquish his enterprise: and Frederic, a few days after,
Nov. 20. entered Dresden in triumph. The siege of Leipsic was raised; that of Torgau had before been given up; and the imperialists retired into Bohemia for the winter. The

22 *Certificates of the Magistrates of Dresden*, No. II. III. *in the Appendix to the Ann. Reg.* 1758.

23 Id. ibid.

24 *L'Esprit des Loix*, liv. x.

Russians, who, in their retreat, had invested Colberg, were obliged to abandon the undertaking with disgrace; and the Swedes, who had also entered Prussian Pomerania, were not more fortunate in their operations than their barbarous allies[25]. The king of Prussia, triumphant over all his enemies, appeared greater than ever. The exploits of every other commander were obscured by the splendour of his victories and retreats, and the lustre of his valour and conduct.

While those memorable achievements occurred on the grand theatre of the war, the British arms had recovered their lustre, both by land and sea. The vigorous and enterprising spirit of the prime minister seemed to communicate itself to all ranks and classes of men, but more especially to the officers of the army and navy. Patriotic zeal took place of sluggish indifference, prompt decision of wavering hesitation, and fearless exertion of timid caution. The nerve of action was new-strung. Every bosom seemed to pant for fame, and for an opportunity of retrieving the national honour.

That bold spirit of enterprise, which caught fresh fire from the victories of Frederic and the successes of the army under prince Ferdinand, was also inflamed by some fortunate events at sea. As admiral Osborn was cruising off the coast of Spain between Cape de Gatt and Carthagena, he fell in with a French squadron, commanded by the marquis du Quesne. Two ships of the line were taken after an obstinate resistance; and another was driven a-shore near the castle of Aiglos, where she found shelter under the Spanish neutrality[26].

This was a sharp blow. The French not only lost two capital ships, but saw them added to the British navy. Nor was that their only misfortune by sea. Sir Edward Hawke, in the beginning of April, dispersed and drove on shore,

25 Foreign *Gazettes*.

26 *Letter* from admiral Osborn, *in the* London *Gazette*.

near the isle of Aix, a fleet consisting of five ships of the line, six frigates, and forty transports, having on board three thousand soldiers, with a large quantity of provisions and stores, intended for the French settlements in North America[27]. Two other convoys were dispersed, and several vessels taken; and, in May, a French ship of the line was captured after a smart engagement.

Roused to enthusiasm by this success, the people of England, who had so lately trembled under the apprehensions of a French invasion, now talked of nothing but carrying hostilities into the heart of France. And the popular minister, instead of regulating that enthusiasm, by confining it to its proper element, or directing its energy against important objects, allowed it to take its own wild sweep, and spend the strongest impulse of its force in air.

A new expedition to the coast of France was planned, notwithstanding the miscarriage of the former, and the disgrace it had brought upon the British arms; such a descent being represented by the great commoner as the most effectual means of serving his majesty's German allies, by drawing the attention of the enemy to their own internal defence, and consequently of weakening their efforts upon the Rhine. Two squadrons were accordingly equipped; the greater, consisting of eleven ships of the line, commanded by the admirals Anson and Hawke, and the smaller of four sail of the line, seven frigates, and six sloops, beside fire-ships, bomb-ketches, and transports, under the direction of commodore Howe. The forces consisted of sixteen regiments of foot, nine troops of light horse, and six thousand marines, under the command of the duke of Marlborough, assisted by lord George Sackville.

This great armament sailed from the isle of Wight (where the troops had been for some time encamped) in the beginning of June, leaving every heart elate with sanguine hopes

27 *Letter* from Sir Edward Hawke, April 11, 1758.

of its success. Nor did these hopes seem ill-founded. The admirals Anson and Hawke, with the fleet under their command, proceeded to the bay of Biscay, in order to spread more widely the alarm, and watch the motions of the French squadron in Brest harbour; while commodore Howe with the transports, and the squadron appointed for their protection, steered directly to St. Malo, a port of Bretagne, against which the armament seemed to have been destined, if it had any particular object. As the place appeared too strong to admit of any attempt on the side next the sea, the troops were disembarked in the bay of Cancalle, with a view of attacking it on the land-side. But it was found, when reconnoitred, to be equally inaccessible on that side, except by regular approaches, for which the invaders were not prepared. They therefore contented themselves with destroying the shipping and naval stores at St. Servan, a kind of suburb of St. Malo, and returned to Spithead without any farther attempt[23].

The success of this expedition by no means answered the ardor of public expectation. But that ardor was again excited by the most vigorous preparations for a new armament, which sailed from St. Helen's on the first of August, the land-forces being commanded by lieutenant-general Bligh, and the fleet and transports under the conduct of Howe. The troops were disembarked in the neighbourhood of Cherbourg, which, being an open town on the land side, was entered without opposition. Some forts and other works were demolished; a petty contribution was levied upon the inhabitants; and twenty-one pieces of cannon were carried off in triumph, and pompously exhibited to the view of the English populace, as the spoils of France. After they had been shewn in Hyde Park to gaping multitudes, they were drawn through the principal streets of London

[23] Lond. *Gazette*, June 17, 1758. See also the *Letter* from an officer on board the Essex, commodore Howe's ship.

with great military parade, and formally lodged in the Tower.

But the British ministry had soon reason to repent of this empty ovation, which flattered the prejudices of the vulgar, and gratified for a moment the national passion for glory and conquest. While the people of England were exulting over the temporary conquest of a place less considerable than many of their own fishing-towns, the victorious battalions were exposed to the most imminent peril.

Having re-embarked the troops at Cherbourg without molestation, the commander in chief (for reasons best known to himself) made his second landing to the westward of St. Malo, against which he seemed determined to hazard an attempt; though the town was now in a better state of defence than when an attack had been judged impracticable by the duke of Marlborough, and the assailants were less numerous.—General Bligh, accordingly, soon discovered his mistake. The design upon St. Malo was laid aside; but it was resolved to penetrate into the country, and do something for the honour of the British arms, before the troops re-entered the transports.

In conformity with this resolution, the fleet anchored in the bay of St. Cas; while the land-forces proceeded, by Guildo, to the village of Matignon, where they dispersed a small body of French troops, and encamped within three miles of the transports, to prevent their retreat from being cut off. Here the British commanders were informed, that the duke d'Aiguillon, governor of Bretagne, had advanced within six miles of their camp, at the head of twelve battalions and six squadrons of regular troops, and two regiments of militia. An immediate retreat was judged necessary; but the measures for carrying it into execution were slow and injudicious. Instead of decamping in the night without noise, by which they might probably have reached the shore before the French had the least intelligence of their motion, the

drums were beaten at two o'clock in the morning, as if with intention to give notice to the enemy, who instantly repeated the same signal; and, although the march was begun soon after, so many were the obstructions, that the troops did not reach the bay of St. Cas before nine o'clock. Notwithstanding this delay, the embarkation might have been effected without loss, if it had been properly conducted. But in this, as in other respects, the greatest blunders were committed.

The English commanders, filled with delusive confidence, seem to have flattered themselves that no Frenchman durst look an Englishman in the face. Hence, from the moment they had intelligence of the approach of the enemy, they appear to have been under the influence of fear or infatuation; like all men who have over-rated their own courage, or undervalued that of an antagonist. All the troops, however, were embarked before the French began to press closely upon them, except the grenadiers and one half of the first regiment of foot-guards, who had the honour of remaining longest on hostile ground. Sept. 11. This gallant body, consisting of fifteen hundred men, attempted to form and face the greatly superior enemy. But their resolution failed them: they fell into confusion: they fled; and rushed into the sea, or were slaughtered on the beach. Of those who took refuge in the waves, a considerable number were saved by the boats of the fleet, and about four hundred of the fugitives were made prisoners. Among the killed and drowned were general Drury and several men of fortune, who had acted as volunteers:—and with them perished about six hundred of the best soldiers in Christendom[29].

Such was the unfortunate issue of our ill-concerted expeditions to the coast of France, which involved the nation in an enormous expence, without being attended with any ade-

29 Lond. *Gazette*, Sept. 18, 1758.

quate advantage [30]. They contributed, however, for a time, to rouse the spirit of the people, and to encourage the passion for enterprise; but as neither their success nor their objects corresponded with the hopes which such vast preparations raised, they had finally a contrary effect. The people, though subject to delusion, are not utterly blind. They saw the disproportion between means and ends, between great armaments and petty aims. And the disaster at St. Cas, which was the more keenly felt as it was altogether unexpected, and immediately followed the rejoicings for the taking of Cherbourg, dissipated the romantic ideas of pursuing conquest in France, or annihilating the French navy by destroying the principal sea-ports; while it exalted beyond measure the spirit of that volatile nation, which had been depressed and mortified by the insulting descents made upon its coasts with impunity. The Gallic boasters now magnified into a mighty victory their accidental good fortune in cutting off the rear-guard of a misguided party of desultory invaders.

But whatever consolation France might derive from the check which had been given to the ravagers of her coasts, the solid advantages acquired by the English in other quarters of the globe afforded them abundant cause of triumph, exclusive of such fugitive conquests. In North America, whence we had hitherto received only accounts of delay, disaster, and disgrace, our affairs had taken a new and highly-favourable turn.

As the earl of Loudon had returned to England on account of some dissatisfaction in regard to the conduct of the war, the chief command in America devolved upon general Abercrombie: but, the plan of operations being extensive, the forces were divided into three bodies, under as many

30. "Could we have burned the enemy's docks, stores, &c. at Brest and "Rochefort," says general Lloyd, "it would have been a service of great "importance, and worth trying; but no other object was by any means equal "to the risk or the expence." *Hist. of the War in Germany*, vol. ii.

commanders. About twelve thousand men, under major-general Amherst, were destined for the siege of Louisbourg; near sixteen thousand, under Abercrombie in person, were reserved for the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and eight thousand, commanded by brigadier Forbes, were ordered to attack Fort du Quesne.

The reduction of Cape Breton being an object of prime concern, it was undertaken with all possible dispatch. The army under Amherst embarked at Halifax in May; and the fleet and transports, consisting of one hundred and fifty-seven sail, under the direction of admiral Boscawen, soon arrived before Louisbourg. The garrison of the place consisted of above three thousand men; and the harbour was secured by five ships of the line, one fifty-gun ship and five frigates, three of which were sunk across the mouth of the bason. It was therefore necessary to disembark the troops at some distance from the town. The place chosen for that purpose was the creek of Cormoran; and as soon as the landing, which was attended with some difficulty but little loss, was accomplished, the town was regularly invested.

The first thing attempted by the besiegers, was to secure a post called the *Light-house Battery*. That service was performed by brigadier Wolfe, with all the vigour and celerity for which he was so much distinguished. On this elevated point were erected several batteries, which played upon the ships and the fortifications on the opposite side of the harbour. The place was defended with spirit; and the French ships long continued to fire upon the besiegers, and to obstruct their operations. At length, on the 21st of July, one of the great ships blew up, and the flames being communicated to two others, they also shared the same fate.

As the enemy, notwithstanding this misfortune, still refused to surrender, the English admiral (who during the whole siege had done every thing possible to second the efforts of the land-forces) sent into the harbour a detachment of six hundred seamen in boats, headed by the captains La-

forey and Balfour. They boarded the two remaining ships of the line, destroyed one of them, and towed off the other in triumph. The blow was decisive. The governor fearing a general assault, as several practicable breaches were made in the works, surrendered himself and his garrison prisoners of war, seven weeks after the disembarkation of the invaders; and the whole island submitted to his Britannic majesty. With Cape Breton fell also the island of St. John, and the inferior stations which the French had established for carrying on the cod-fishery in the Gulf of St. Laurence [31].

The reduction of Louisbourg was severely felt by France, especially as it had been attended with the loss of so considerable a naval force; and it occasioned the greatest rejoicings in England. But all our enterprises in America were not equally fortunate.

General Abercrombie had embarked upon Lake George, in July; and, after a prosperous navigation, he landed his troops without opposition, and advanced in three columns toward Ticonderoga. As the country through which his march lay was rough and woody, and his guides were very unskilful, the troops were bewildered, and the columns broken. While they were in this disorder, they fell in with a French detachment, which had fled on their approach, being bewildered in like manner. A skirmish ensued, in which the English routed the enemy; but this advantage was unfortunately purchased with the death of lord Howe, a young nobleman of the most promising military talents, who had acquired the esteem and affection of the troops by his generosity, affability, and engaging manners, as well as by his distinguished valour.

Ticonderoga was better fortified than Abercrombie expected to find it. Besides being strong by its natural situation, it was defended by near five thousand men, who were stationed under the cannon of the place, behind an *abattis* (or

[31] Knox's *Campaigns in North America*, vol. i.

breastwork formed of the trunks of trees piled one upon another), and were farther secured by whole trees, with their branches outward, some of which were cut and sharpened, so as to answer the purpose of *chevaux-de-frise*. Notwithstanding this strong position, the general rashly resolved to attack the enemy, without waiting for the arrival of the artillery. The troops advanced to the assault with the greatest alacrity; but all their efforts proved ineffectual. In vain did they attempt to cut their way through every obstacle. They could make no impression upon the enemy's works. The general, therefore, found it necessary to order a retreat, as the only means of saving the remains of his army, after it had been exposed for four hours to the covered fire of the French musquetry. About two thousand men, among whom were many officers, were killed or wounded [32].

To repair the disgrace of this bloody repulse, Abercrombie detached colonel Bradstreet with three thousand men against Fort Frontenac. The colonel, who, with great prudence and valour, surmounted every difficulty, brought his little army to Oswego, where he embarked on Lake Ontario, and arrived at the object of his enterprise by the 25th of August. The post was ill fortified and feebly garrisoned. It surrendered at discretion, on the appearance of the English commander, who found there a very considerable quantity of provisions and merchandise, sixty pieces of cannon, and nine armed sloops [33].

The success of colonel Bradstreet, in all probability, facilitated the expedition under Forbes. This officer attempted to pass through a vast tract of country very little known, abounding with woods, mountains, and morasses. He made his way by surprising exertions of vigour and perseverance, though he was continually harassed by parties of Indians; and, having advanced with the main body of his army as far as Ray's Town, distant about eighty miles from Fort du

32 Knox's *Campaigns*, vol. i.——Lond. *Gazette*, Aug. 22, 1758.

33 Lond. *Gazette*, Oct. 31, 1758.

Quesne, he detached major Grant, at the head of eight hundred men, to reconnoitre the place. Unfortunately the major's approach was discovered by the enemy, who sent a more numerous body against him. A desperate combat ensued, which was gallantly maintained by the British detachment for more than three hours; but, being at length overpowered, it was obliged to give way. About three hundred men were killed or made prisoners; and among the latter was major Grant. This severe check did not prevent brigadier Forbes from advancing, though he was ignorant of the enemy's numbers. Regardless of danger, he only longed for an opportunity of retaliation. The French, however, dreading the prospect of a siege, deprived him of the pleasure of revenge, by abandoning the disputed post, on the twenty-fourth of November. They retired down the Ohio, to their settlements on the Missisippi. The British standard was erected on Fort du Quesne, which had been the primary cause of so general and so destructive a war; and the name of Fort Pitt was given to it, in honour of the minister under whose auspices the expedition had been undertaken.

Nor were the British conquests confined to North America. Two ships of the line, with some frigates and a body of marines, had been dispatched, early in the season, to reduce the French settlements on the coast of Africa. They accordingly entered the river Senegal; and in spite of the obstructions of a dangerous bar, which the ships of the line could not pass, they obliged Fort Louis, which commands the navigation of the Senegal, to surrender, and, with it, all the French settlements on that river [34].

But this squadron being found insufficient to reduce the island of Goree, which lies at the distance of thirty leagues, on the same coast, commodore Keppel, brother to the earl of Albemarle, was afterwards sent upon that service, with

[34] Lond. *Gazette*, June 10, 1758.

four ships of the line, several frigates, and about seven hundred soldiers. The great ships laid their broadsides to the principal batteries, and maintained so strong a fire, that the place surrendered at discretion, before the troops were landed [35]. M. St. Jean, the French governor, behaved with true courage, but was ill supported by his garrison.

The British arms were less successful during this campaign in the East Indies. Though admiral Pococke, who had succeeded, in consequence of the death of admiral Watson, to the command of the English squadron on the coast of Coromandel, had worsted, in two fierce engagements, the French squadron under M. d'Aché, he was not able to prevent the loss of Cudalore and Fort St. David. Those places were reduced by the count de Lally; who having been appointed governor-general of the French possessions in India, had carried out with him a great force to Pondicherry. He was gallantly assisted in his operations by the count d'Estaing, and flattered himself with the hopes of subduing all the English settlements on the coast of Coromandel.

Such, my dear Philip, was the state of the war in all parts of the world, at the close of the year 1758. Many checks had been given, many victories obtained, and many conquests made; but these were not all on one side. The success was divided. All parties had cause of hope, or room for consolation; and, in consequence of this situation of affairs, all parties prepared for opening the ensuing campaign with equal vigour, though the state of their finances was very different. The resources of England being still great, she generously continued her annual subsidy to the king of Prussia. Those of Austria were nearly exhausted, and France was on the eve of a national bankruptcy; yet were the efforts of both undiminished. The empress of Russia,

35 Lond. *Gazette*, Jan. 29, 1759.

having lost only men, readily supplied by her very extensive dominions, adhered to her military system, which she considered as necessary to the training of her armies: and Sweden made no advances toward peace. The greatest exertions were displayed in every quarter of the globe.

Germany however continued, as hitherto, to be the chief theatre of military operations, though conquest or bold enterprise seemed to find elsewhere a wider range. Repeated trials of strength had here made all parties more cautious; because all had become sensible, that the war could only be brought to a successful issue by patience and perseverance, not by any single blow. The greatest blows had been already struck, yet peace seemed as distant as ever; though, in striking some of those blows, ruin itself had been hazarded by the illustrious Frederic. Less dependence was henceforth placed in fortune, and more in force and skill. Experience had moderated the ardor of courage, and rectified the mistaken conceptions of military superiority. Firmness and recollection took place of presumption and rashness; and mutual esteem and apprehensions of danger, of self-confidence and mutual contempt.

The fire of the king's genius alone seemed unabated. We have seen in what manner he obliged the Austrians and the army of the empire to evacuate Saxony, at the close of the last campaign, while his generals compelled the Russians and Swedes to retire toward their own frontiers. He began the present with alacrity and vigour; and he had formed a great system of operations, in concert with prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. One of his generals, in February, destroyed the Russian magazines in Poland; another recovered Anclam, Demin, and other towns of Pomerania. He himself, by his threatening motions, drew the Austrian army to the frontiers of Silesia. His brother, who had wintered in Saxony, seized the opportunity of subjecting Bohemia to contribution; and afterward, entering

A.D. 1759.

Franconia, pushed the imperial army as far back as Nuremberg.

To this degree were the Prussian arms successful. But some unforeseen events, partly depending upon the king, partly upon others, disconcerted his future plans. The Russians advanced toward Silesia, notwithstanding the destruction of their magazines. And prince Ferdinand, although early reinforced with a choice body of British troops, found himself unable to prevent the army of the empire from receiving succours from that of France; a circumstance on which the success of the campaign greatly depended, and on which his Prussian majesty had presumed, though certainly without due consideration.

The French, by a flagrant violation of the liberties of the empire, accompanied with an act of perfidy, had made themselves masters of Frankfort upon the Maine, a neutral and free city, in the beginning of January. This was an important acquisition, as it secured to them the course of the Maine and the Upper Rhine, by which they could easily receive every kind of supply. It was therefore determined that they should be dislodged, if possible, as soon as the season would permit the allied army to take the field.

With this view, prince Ferdinand assembled his troops in the vicinity of Fulda, and marched against the enemy at the head of thirty thousand men; having left the rest of his forces to guard the electorate of Hanover, and protect the bishopric of Munster. He found the French army, under the duke de Broglio, strongly posted near Bergen, between Frankfort and Hanau; yet he resolved to attack them. He accordingly advanced to the charge; but, after three attempts to gain possession of the village, he was obliged to retire with the loss of fifteen hundred men. He preserved, however, so good a countenance, that the enemy did not venture to pursue him [36].

April 13.

[36] French and English *Gazettes* compared.

The allies perhaps lost no honour by this action. But they failed in their object; and that failure, beside thwarting the designs of the king of Prussia, reduced them to great distress for want of provisions. Meanwhile the French enjoyed plenty of every thing. And their armies on the Upper and Lower Rhine, having formed a junction near Marpurg, proceeded northward, under the mareschal de Contades, who fixed his head-quarters at Corbach, whence he detached a body of light troops to take possession of Cassel.

June 3.

Finding himself inferior to the united forces of the enemy, prince Ferdinand judged it prudent to retire as they advanced. He left strong garrisons, however, in Lipstadt, Retberg, Munster, and Minden, to retard the progress of the French generals. But this precaution proved ineffectual. Retberg was surprised by the duke de Broglio. He also took Minden by assault; and Munster was reduced after a short siege.

It now seemed impossible to prevent the French from making themselves a second time masters of his Britannic majesty's German dominions. Considering the conquest of Hanover as certain, the court of Versailles was only occupied in contriving expedients for securing it; and the regency of that electorate, willing to provide against the consequences of such a probable event, again sent the archives to Stade. All things seemed hastening to the same situation which brought on the humiliating convention of Closter-seven; especially as prince Ferdinand continued to retire, and studiously kept up his communication with the Weser.

But that accomplished general, though weakened by his losses, was not disconcerted. He saw his danger, and was prepared to meet it. Although naturally cautious, he resolved, under the pressure of necessity, to pursue a bold line of conduct, instead of taking refuge in despair, or seeking an apology for misfortune in the gloom of public despondency. As soon as he found that nothing but a battle could

prevent the French from taking up their winter quarters in the electorate, he determined to bring matters to that issue. And the means by which he accomplished his design with an inferior army, without exposing himself to any disaster, discovered so profound a genius for war, as will ever induce good judges to rank him among the greatest masters of the military art.

The main body of the French army had encamped near Minden, to which town its right wing extended. On the left was a steep hill, in the front a morass; and a rivulet covered the rear. As nothing could be more advantageous than this position, which rendered an attack impracticable, prince Ferdinand employed all his skill to draw the enemy from it. With that view he quitted his camp on the Weser, and marched to Hille; leaving, however, general Wangenheim entrenched on the banks of the disputed river; and detaching the hereditary prince of Brunswick to make a compass toward the left flank of the French, and cut off their communication with Paderborn.

Contades and Broglio, who were not inattentive to these movements, fell into the snare that was laid for them. They concluded, that the opportunity which they had so long sought, of cutting off prince Ferdinand's intercourse with the Weser, was at last found, and with it the consummation of their wishes. They saw, as they imagined, the allied army disjoined beyond the possibility of immediate union; and therefore flattered themselves with the hope of effecting its ruin, by defeating general Wangenheim, and securing the command of the Weser. Full of this idea, they left their advantageous post; and, passing the morass, advanced into the plain.

The duke de Broglio, who led the French van, proceeded with great confidence, until he reached a neighbouring eminence; whence he beheld, instead of entrenchments defended by a small body, the whole army Aug. 1. of the allies disposed in excellent order, and extending from

the banks of the Weser almost to Minden. A discovery so unexpected embarrassed the French general. But he had no alternative left: it was too late to recede. He therefore ordered his cavalry to advance, and begin the engagement.

The British infantry, which, with two battalions of Hanoverian guards, composed the centre of the allied army, sustained the principal shock of the battle, and broke every body of horse and foot that advanced against them; whilst the Hessian cavalry, with some regiments of Prussian and Hanoverian dragoons, posted on the left, baffled all the attempts of the enemy, and pushed them to the necessity of seeking safety in flight[37].

At this instant, prince Ferdinand sent orders to lord George Sackville, who commanded the British and Hanoverian horse, which composed the right wing of the allies, to advance to the charge. And if these orders had been cheerfully obeyed, the battle of Minden would probably have been as memorable and decisive as that of Blenheim. The French army would have been destroyed, or totally routed and driven out of Germany. But whatever was the cause, whether the orders were not sufficiently precise, were misinterpreted, or imperfectly understood, the British cavalry did not arrive in time to have any share in the engagement[38]; so that the French, instead of being warmly pursued, were permitted to retire in good order, and to regain their former position, after seven thousand of their countrymen had been killed, wounded, or captured. They judged it necessary, however, to quit their camp, and pass the Weser the same night; and, the next day, the garrison of Minden surrendered at discretion. About two thousand men lost their lives, or received severe wounds, on the side of the allies.

Prince Ferdinand passed an indirect censure upon the British commander for his conduct on this occasion; and a

[37] London and Paris *Gazettes*.——The French account of this battle, and of the operations that preceded it, is the most perfect.

[38] Evidence produced on the trial of lord George Sackville.

court martial confirmed that censure. But, as the whole weight of ministerial influence is supposed to have been thrown into the scale of the German general, impartial observers are still divided in their opinion on the subject. It may not, however, be improper to observe, for the information of posterity, that the two generals were by no means on good terms with each other, before the battle. Prince Ferdinand, who understood the *mystery*, as well as the *art* of war, and pursued it as a *lucrative trade*, felt himself uneasy under the eye of an observer so keen and penetrating as lord George Sackville, and wished to remove him from the command. This wish perhaps occasioned that confusion, or contradiction of orders, of which the English general complained, and which he assigned as the cause of his inaction. But there is also reason to suppose, that the chagrin of the British commander rendered his perception, on that occasion, less clear than usual, and that he even secretly indulged a desire of obscuring the glory of a hated rival, without reflecting that, by such conduct, he was sacrificing his duty to his sovereign, and eventually the interests of his country [39].

[39] See prince Ferdinand's *Letter* to the king of Great Britain, and Lord George Sackville's *Vindication* of his conduct.

LETTER XXXIV.

The View of the State of Europe, and the History of the general War, pursued, from the Defeat of the French at Minden, to the Death of George II.

THE victory gained by the allies at Minden, though less complete than it might have been rendered by the ready

co-operation of the British general, threw the court of Versailles into the utmost confusion, and blasted all its hopes of conquest. It not only enabled prince Ferdinand effectually to defend the electorate of Hanover, but to recover Munster, and force the French to evacuate great part of Westphalia. And if he had not been obliged to weaken his army, in order to support the king of Prussia, whose affairs were much embarrassed, he would probably have driven the vain-glorious enemy to the other side of the Rhine, before the close of the campaign.

The embarrassment of Frederic was chiefly occasioned by the approach of the Russians, in spite of every effort to obstruct their progress. Displeased with the studied caution of count Dohna, the king conferred the command of the army destined to oppose them on general Wedel, who immediately gave battle, conformably to his orders. He attacked them with great spirit, but without effect, at Kay, near Zullichau, in Silesia. The Prussians were repulsed with the loss of many lives, after an obstinate engagement; and the Russians took possession of Frankfort on the Oder.

July 23.

No sooner was the warlike monarch informed of this disaster, than he resolved to oppose the Russians in person; and began his march with ten thousand veterans to join the shattered army under Wedel; leaving his brother to observe the motions of the Austrians on the frontiers of Lusatia. Meanwhile Daun, apprised of the king's intention, detached Laudohn, with twelve thousand horse, to give vigour and stability to the Russian army, which was deficient in cavalry.

The reinforcement arrived nearly at the same time that his Prussian majesty joined Wedel. And Laudohn and count Soltikoff, the Russian general, took post at the village of Cunersdorff, opposite Frankfort. The combined army consisted of eighty thousand combatants: their position was naturally strong; and they farther secured their camp by

entrenchments, planted with a numerous train of artillery. The king's forces, after every augmentation that he could procure, fell below fifty thousand men; yet did his pressing circumstances, and his own sanguine spirit, inflamed by hostile passion, induce him to hazard an attack.

With such vigour did his army engage, that the Russian entrenchments were forced with great slaughter. Several redoubts, which covered Cunersdorff, were also mastered; and the Prussians advanced to the village itself. Here the battle was renewed, and raged with redoubled fury. At length the post was carried; and victory seemed ready to attend the arms of Frederic. But the Russians, though thrown into some disorder, were not discouraged. They again formed under cover of the Austrian cavalry, and took possession of an eminence, called the *Jews' Burying Ground*, where they resolved to defend themselves to the last man. Aug. 12.

Prudence, and past experience of the steady valour of the Russians, ought to have taught his Prussian majesty to rest satisfied with the advantage he had gained: but he was not content to be a conqueror by halves. The ardor of his mind determined him to follow his blow, in hopes of crowning at once his glory and his vengeance, by a complete triumph over a barbarous enemy, who had dared to enter within the line of his ambition; and whose cruel ravages had so often drawn him from the pursuit of victory, or obstructed the career of conquest. He accordingly led on, to a new attack, his brave battalions, yet faint from recent toil, beneath the heat of a burning sun, and sore with many a wound. He led them against the main body of the Russian army, the greater part of which had not hitherto been engaged, posted on higher ground, and strongly defended by artillery. They were unequal to the difficult service: they fell back; they were again brought to the charge, and repulsed with great slaughter. Enraged at this disappointment, the king put himself at the head of his cavalry; but their vigour also was

spent. In vain did he attempt to break the ranks of the Russians (who are possessed of uncommon bodily strength, and an instinctive or mechanical courage, which makes them inaccessible to fear): they baffled all his gallant efforts. Their fire was the mouth of a volcano, and their bayonets were a hedge of spears. The Prussians, wasted with fatigue, and startled at the number of slain, blamed the perseverance of their prince, but still maintained the unequal combat.

In those awful moments, when the finest troops in the world were wavering, and the greatest of modern commanders could with difficulty encourage them to keep their ground, the Austrian cavalry, yet fresh, broke in upon them with the impetuosity of a torrent. The Russian horse followed the animating example, and the foot resumed their activity. The exhausted Prussians yielded to the irresistible shock: they were seized with a panic; they fled. The king rallied them, and three times renewed the engagement in the front line. He had two horses shot under him, and many bullets had passed through his clothes. But all his intrepid exertions were ineffectual: the battle was irretrievably lost, and only the approach of night prevented the Prussian army from being utterly cut off. As the struggle terminated, the slaughter, on both sides, was awfully great. Near thirty thousand men lay dead on the field, or were harassed with wounds; and sixteen thousand of these were Prussians[1].

The issue of this battle astonished all Europe; and occasioned the most extravagant exultation among the hostile powers on one side, and the greatest depression of mind on the other. When the king had seised the village of Cunersdorff, he wrote, in the triumph of his heart, a congratulatory billet to his queen, without waiting for the final event: "We have driven the Russians from their entrenchments.

[1] Compared *Relations* of the battle of Cunersdorff, published by authority at Berlin and Vienna.

" Expect, within two hours, to hear of a glorious victory!"— And as this note arrived at Berlin just as the post was going out, the premature intelligence reached the courts of London and Versailles before the news of the king's disaster, also first conveyed in another laconic dispatch to the queen: " Remove from Berlin with the royal family. Let the " archives be carried to Potsdam. The town may make " conditions with the enemy."

But if his Prussian majesty subjected himself to some degree of ridicule as a man, and blame as a commander, by his defeat at Cunersdorff, his subsequent conduct effaced all unfavourable impressions. And the surprise of mankind, at his unexpected reverse of fortune, was soon lost in their admiration of the wonderful resources of his genius, and the unconquerable fortitude of his spirit. The day after the battle, he repassed the Oder, and encamped at Retwin; whence he moved to Furstenwalde, and posted himself so advantageously, that the Russians did not dare to make any attempt upon Berlin. He even watched their motions so assiduously, that the main body of their army, under the victorious Soltikoff, instead of entering Brandenburg, marched into Lusatia. There he joined mareschal Daun; and the two generals held consultations concerning their future operations.

In the mean time the king, having refreshed and recruited his broken and exhausted troops, and supplied the loss of his artillery (which had all fallen into the hands of the enemy) from the arsenal at Berlin, appeared again formidable. While his friends as well as his enemies were of opinion, that the Russian and Austrian armies united had only to determine what part of his dominions they chose first to subdue as a prelude to the conquest of the whole, he obliged both to act on the defensive. And he at the same time detached six thousand men, under general Wunch, to the relief of Saxony; where the army of the empire had made great progress during his absence. Halle, Wittenberg,

Leipsic, Torgau, and even Dresden itself, had surrendered to the Imperialists. But the detachment under Wunch retook Leipsic in September; and when he had joined Finck, who commanded in Saxony, the two generals repulsed the enemy at Corbitz, and recovered every place in that electorate except Dresden.

Encouraged by these successes, and seeing that he could not, on the side of Silesia, second the king's operations, prince Henry quitted his camp at Hornsdorff in Lusatia, and marched with extraordinary celerity into Saxony, where he joined the Prussian forces under Finck and Wunch. This rapid march obliged Daun to quit his camp in Lusatia, and separate his army from that of count Soltikoff, in order to protect Dresden. And the Prussian monarch, thus freed from the presence of his most dangerous enemy, having put himself between the Russians and Great Glogau, compelled them to relinquish an enterprise which they had formed against that place, and return into Poland.

Fortune, in a word, seemed yet to be preparing triumphs for Frederic, after all his disasters; and if he had placed less confidence in her flattering promises, which he had repeatedly found to be delusive, he might have closed the campaign with equal glory and success. But his enterprising spirit induced him once more to trust the deceiver, and attempt a great line of action, while prudence, reason, experience, and even self-preservation, dictated a sure one.

No sooner did he find himself disengaged, in consequence of the retreat of the Russians, than he marched into Saxony; and there joined his brother near Torgau in November, in spite of all the efforts of the Austrian generals. On this junction, the troops of the empire retired. Daun, who had threatened prince Henry, fell back upon Dresden. And the king saw himself at the head of a gallant army of sixty thousand men, in high spirits, and still ready to execute any bold enterprise, under the eye of their sovereign and commander, so lately reduced to the brink of despair. But as

the season was already far in the decline, and remarkably severe, his most able generals were of opinion, that no important exploit could be attempted with any probability of success, and that his wisest conduct would be to watch the motions of the Austrians, and cut off the provisions of Daun; who must, by these means, be obliged to abandon Dresden, and retire into Bohemia, leaving to the Prussians, as hitherto, the entire possession of Saxony.

The king's views, however, extended to greater and more decisive advantages. He knew that the passes into Bohemia were so difficult, that, by seizing certain posts, the subsistence of the Austrians might not only be cut off, but their retreat rendered impracticable. Having obliged Daun to retreat as far as Plawen, and advanced himself to Kesseldorff, he ordered general Finck, with nineteen battalions and thirty-five squadrons, to occupy the defiles of Maxen and Ottendorff, through which alone he thought it possible for the enemy to communicate with Bohemia. This service was successfully executed; and no doubt was entertained that Daun would be obliged to hazard a battle, or to surrender at discretion, as he seemed now to have no resource left but in victory.

Meanwhile that sagacious general, sensible of his danger, sent experienced officers to reconnoitre the position of the Prussian detachment; and finding the commander lulled into the most fatal security, he took possession of the neighbouring eminences, and, surrounding the enemy, precluded the possibility of escape. The Prussians defended themselves gallantly for one day, and made several vigorous efforts to disentangle themselves from the net in which they were caught, but in vain: they were foiled in every attempt to force those defiles which they had been appointed to guard. Night put an end to the struggle, and to the effusion of blood. The next morning, Finck, seeing his situation desperate, as every avenue through which a retreat could be

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made was planted with bayonets, judged it more prudent to submit to necessity, than wantonly to throw away the lives of so many brave men, who might serve their king on some more promising occasion. He therefore endeavoured, though ineffectually, to obtain terms. They were sternly denied him. And he was ultimately forced to surrender at discretion, on the 26th of November; he himself with eight other generals, and fifteen thousand men, being made prisoners of war[2].

This was a mortifying blow to the hopes of the Prussian monarch, and must have made him severely sensible of his too common error, in placing all his attention on the possible advantage, and overlooking the probable danger. Nor did that evil come alone. He sustained another heavy stroke in the defeat and capture of a rear-guard, consisting of three thousand men, under general Diercke. Yet, after all his losses, he was still so formidable, that the cautious and moderate-minded Daun, instead of attacking him, took shelter in the strong camp of Pirna, and kept close within his entrenchments.

His Prussian majesty seemed also, at last, to have acquired a lesson of moderation. Though joined by twelve thousand men, under the hereditary prince of Brunswick, he put his army quietly into winter-quarters at Freyberg, without attempting any new enterprise; so that, the loss of men excepted, affairs in Germany were nearly in the same situation as at the opening of the campaign. The country had been desolated, and much blood had been shed; but Dresden was the only place of importance that had changed masters.

In spite of all the eloquence and popularity of Mr. Pitt, so many indecisive campaigns began to cool the zeal of the English nation in the cause of their illustrious but burthensome ally, the king of Prussia, to whose wars they could

[2] Compared *Relations* of the two Courts.

see no end. And the success of the British arms in America and the West Indies opened the eyes of the people more fully to their true interests, and contributed to convince them of the folly of defending the electorate of Hanover at such a vast expence of blood and treasure.

Immediately after the taking of Louisbourg, which had long been considered as the key of Canada, a plan was formed by the British ministry for the reduction of Quebec, and the entire conquest of New France, as soon as the season of action, in those northern latitudes, should return. In the mean time an expedition was undertaken against the island of Martinique, the chief seat of the French government in the West Indies; a territory of great importance by its position, and also by its produce.

It was known that Martinique, and all the sugar-islands belonging to France in the American archipelago, were in great distress for want of provisions and other necessaries; with which it was not in her power to furnish them, on account of the inferiority of her navy to that of England, and her consequent inability to protect her trade with them. It was therefore supposed that they could make but a feeble resistance to a spirited attack.

The armament destined for this service consisted of ten ships of the line under commodore Moore, and five thousand soldiers commanded by general Hopson. The design upon Martinique, however, was relinquished as impracticable, after some desultory attempts, though seemingly with little reason, as the French governor possessed neither courage nor conduct, and the distressed inhabitants appeared willing, it was said, to submit to a power that could more readily supply their wants, and afford them a better and more certain market for their produce. But whatever was the prospect of resistance, it is certain that the British troops were re-embarked within twenty-four hours after their landing, and that the armament directed its course toward the island of

Guadaloupe[3]; a less splendid object of conquest, though not a less valuable possession.

The British fleet appeared in the road of Basse-Terre on the twenty-second of January; and the chief town and fort were taken after a terrible cannonade, accompanied with incessant showers of bombs. Never did the commanders of the English navy exert themselves with greater intrepidity and judgment than on this occasion. They left to the land-forces no other employment than that of taking possession of the place, which was abandoned by the garrison[4].

The reduction of Basse-Terre, however, was not immediately followed by the conquest of Guadaloupe. The slowness, timidity, and irresolution of the operations by land, afforded the fugitive garrison leisure for recollection, and for the occupancy of a strong post which obstructed all communication with the more fertile parts of the island. Despairing therefore of being able to subject Guadaloupe on that side, the invaders proceeded to attack it on another, known by the name of Grande-Terre. Fort Louis, the chief defence of this division of the island (which is separated from the other by a shallow strait), was taken sword in hand, by the marines and Royal Highlanders, after a short but vigorous cannonade from the fleet[5].

But the conquerors were guilty of the same error which they had before committed. They did not take advantage of the enemy's terror: and they suffered the same inconveniences from their neglect. The fugitives found refuge in the mountains, where they became formidable; and the event of the expedition was even doubtful, when general Barrington, having succeeded to the command of the land-

3 Lond. *Gazette*, March 7, 1759.——See also Capt. Gardiner's *Account of the Expedition* against Martinique and Guadaloupe.

4 Id. ibid.

5 Capt. Gardiner, ubi sup.

forces in consequence of the death of Hopson, changed the plan of operations. Instead of attempting to penetrate into the country, which abounds with strong posts and dangerous defiles, he re-embarked the troops, and successively attacked the towns and villages upon the coast. By this mode of making war, every considerable place was soon reduced; and the governor and inhabitants, tired of their uncomfortable situation in the mountains, and seeing no prospect of relief, surrendered the island to his Britannic majesty. Mariegalante, and some other small islands in the neighbourhood, also submitted. And the inhabitants obtained the same terms with those of Guadaloupe; namely, the undisturbed possession of their private property, and the enjoyment of their civil and religious privileges[6]. May 1.

This moderation was equally generous and politic, and may be supposed to have had a serious influence upon the minds of the French colonists, even in North America; where the campaign was not yet begun, and where the plan of operations was as extensive as their objects were great. It was concerted to attack the French in all their strong holds at once;—that major-general Wolfe, who had so eminently distinguished himself at the siege of Louisbourg, should proceed up the river St. Laurence with eight thousand men, and a considerable fleet from England, and besiege Quebec; that Amherst, now commander in chief of the British forces in North America, should, with twelve thousand men, reduce Ticonderoga and Crown Point, cross Lake Champlain, and, proceeding by the way of Richelieu River to the banks of the St. Laurence, join Wolfe in his attempt upon the capital of Canada; and that brigadier Prideaux, with a third army, reinforced by a body of provincials and friendly Indians under Sir William Johnson, should invest the fortress of Niagara, which in a manner commanded the interior parts of the northern division of the

6 Lond. *Gazette*, June 14, 1759.

New World. It was farther proposed, that the troops under Prideaux, after the reduction of Niagara, should embark on Lake Ontario, fall down the St. Laurence, besiege and take Montreal, and then join, or co-operate with, the combined army under Amherst and Wolfe.

A bolder system of war, perhaps, was never framed: but many doubts had been started in regard to its natural practicability, founded on the strength of the places to be attacked, the extent of the operations, and the disposition of the French forces. The marquis de Vaudreuil, governor of New France, was stationed near Montreal, with five thousand veterans; while the marquis de Montcalm, his lieutenant-general, whose reputation was already high in the military world, took the field with an army of ten thousand Europeans and Canadians, for the defence of the capital; and M. de Levi, an active officer, was at the head of a flying detachment, which, as well as the army under Montcalm, was strengthened by a large body of trained Indians, intimately acquainted with all the woods and defiles. The garrison of Niagara consisted of at least six hundred men; Ticonderoga and Crown Point were in a respectable state of defence; and the city of Quebec, naturally strong from its situation, the bravery of its inhabitants, and the number of its garrison, had received every additional fortification that the art of war could give it. All these obstacles, however, were surmounted, though not immediately, by a happy mixture of conduct and valour; the wonderful effects of which ignorant and credulous men ascribe to supernatural influence, and dull and timid men to chance.

The army under Amherst, by the progress of which the operations of the other two were supposed to be in some measure governed, was early in motion. But the season was far advanced before the general could pass Lake George. He thence proceeded, with little opposition from the enemy, to Ticonderoga, so fatal to the British troops in the preceding campaign. The French seemed at first determined

to defend the fort: but perceiving the English commander resolute, cautious, and well prepared for undertaking the siege, and having orders to retreat from one place to another toward the centre of operations, rather than incur the hazard of being made prisoners of war, they abandoned the works in the night, and retired to Crown Point. July 7.

To this fortress Amherst advanced, after repairing the works of Ticonderoga, which the enemy had damaged. But, before his arrival, the garrison had retired to Isle-aux-Noix, at the lower end of Lake Champlain. There the French were said to have three thousand five hundred men, with a numerous train of artillery; and he was also informed, that the lake was occupied by four large armed vessels. With a sloop and a radeau, which he had built with all possible dispatch, he destroyed two of the enemy's vessels. But the declining season obliged him to postpone farther operations; and he returned in October to Crown Point [7].

General Amherst now saw himself in a very awkward situation for a commander in chief. Though his success was great, he had found it impossible to attain the grand object of his enterprise; a junction with general Wolfe, which was considered as essential to the fortunate issue of the campaign. And what was yet more disagreeable, he had not, during the whole summer, obtained the least intelligence of the condition of that commander, on the operations of whose slender and unsupported army so much depended; a few obscure and alarming hints excepted, of his having landed in the neighbourhood of Quebec, where he was in danger of being crushed by the whole force of Canada, under the marquis de Montcalm. Happily he was not so ignorant of the fate of the expedition against Niagara. Having received an account of its progress before he left

[7] *Letter* from General Amherst to Mr. Pitt, in the Lond. *Gazette*, Nov. 27, 1759.——Knox's *Campaigns*, vol. i. ii.

Ticonderoga, he had detached brigadier Gage, to assume the command of the troops in the room of Prideaux, who was unfortunately killed by the bursting of a cohorn, while directing the operations against the fort, to which he had been suffered to advance without the least molestation.

Meanwhile the command of that expedition devolved upon Sir William Johnson, who prosecuted with equal judgment and vigour the plan of his predecessor. He pushed the attack of Niagara with such intrepidity, that the besiegers soon brought their approaches within a hundred yards of the covered way. Alarmed at the danger of losing this interior key of their empire in America, the French collected a body of regular troops (from the garrisons of Detroit, Venango, and Presque-Isle) and a party of savages, with a resolution of attempting the relief of the place. Apprised of their intention, general Johnson ordered his light infantry, supported by some grenadiers and regular foot, to take post between the cataract of Niagara and the fortress. He posted the auxiliary Indians on his flanks; and, while he thus prepared himself for an engagement, he took effectual measures for securing his lines and bridling the garrison.

The enemy appeared about nine o'clock in the morning, and the battle was begun with a horrid scream from the hostile Indians, according to their barbarous custom. July 24. It was this scream, called the *War-whoop*, the most frightful sound which imagination can conceive, that struck a panic into the army under Braddock, and had on other occasions carried terror to the hearts of European soldiers. But having now lost its effect upon the British troops, it was heard with a contemptuous indifference. And the French regulars were so warmly received by the English grenadiers and light infantry, while their savages were encountered by other barbarians, that they were totally routed in less than an hour, and the place surrendered on the same day[8].

[8] Lond. *Gazette*, Sept. 18, 1759.——Knox, ubi sup.

The taking of Niagara effectually cut off the communication between Canada and Louisiana, and consequently was a great step toward the conquest of both. But the reduction of Quebec was a still more important object; and if general Amherst had been able to form a junction with Wolfe, it would have been attended with equal certainty, as a proportional force would have been employed to accomplish it.

The issue of this grand enterprise seemed, at first, very doubtful. The land-forces did not exceed seven thousand men. They were, however, in good health and spirits. Having been embarked at Louisbourg, under convoy of admiral Saunders, they were safely landed, toward the end of June, on the isle of Orleans, formed by two branches of the St. Laurence, a few leagues below Quebec. There the soldiers and sailors found every refreshment; and there general Wolfe, who was accompanied by the brigadiers Monckton, Townshend, and Murray, published a spirited but somewhat romantic manifesto, vindicating the conduct of the king his master, in making this hostile invasion, and offering protection to the inhabitants of Canada, with the entire possession of their property and the free exercise of their religion, provided they should take no part in the dispute for dominion between the crowns of France and England. He represented to them the folly of resistance, as all hopes of relief were cut off, while the British fleet not only commanded the navigation of the St. Laurence, but enjoyed the empire of the sea; and he reminded them, that the cruelties, exercised by the French against the English subjects in America, would excuse the most severe retaliation. But Englishmen, he said, were too magnanimous to follow the barbarous example: and he concluded with extolling the generosity of Great Britain, in thus stretching out to them the hand of humanity, when it was in her power to enforce their obedience[9].

9. Printed *Manifesto*.

As this manifesto produced no immediate effect, Wolfe was under the necessity of considering the Canadians as enemies, and saw himself exposed to the difficulties of a general commanding an army in a country where every thing is hostile to him. These difficulties, on examination, appeared so great, that, although he was naturally of a sanguine temper and an adventurous spirit, he began to despair of success before the commencement of operations. "I could "not flatter myself," says he, in his celebrated letter to Mr. Pitt, "that I should be able to reduce the place." Nor is this to be wondered at. Beside the natural and artificial strength of the city of Quebec, which is chiefly built upon a steep rock on the northern bank of the St. Laurence, and farther defended by the river St. Charles, which places it in a kind of peninsula, Montcalm, the French general, was advantageously posted in the neighbourhood, with a force superior to the English army. To undertake the siege of the town, in such circumstances, seemed contrary to all the established maxims of war.

Resolving, however, to make every possible exertion before he should abandon the enterprise committed to him by his sovereign, and the event of which was already determined in the fond imaginations of his admiring countrymen, Wolfe took possession of Point Levi, on the southern bank of the St. Laurence, and there erected batteries against the town. But these batteries, by reason of their distance, made small impression upon the works, though they destroyed many houses, and greatly incommoded the inhabitants. The fleet could be of little use, as the elevation of the principal fortifications placed them beyond its reach, and even gave them a degree of command over it. The English general, therefore, became sensible of the impossibility of reducing the place, unless he could erect batteries on the northern side of the river. That shore, however, for a considerable way above Quebec, was so bold and rocky, as to render it impracticable to land in the face of an enemy.

Below the town, the French army was strongly encamped, between the Montmorency and St. Charles. If the former of these rivers should be passed, and the French driven from their entrenchments, the second, beyond which they would then take refuge, would present a new and almost insuperable barrier against the victors. With all these obstacles Wolfe was well acquainted; but he also knew, to use his own heroic language, "That a victorious army finds no "difficulties!" He therefore resolved to pass the Montmorency, and bring Montcalm to an engagement.

A part of the British army had landed at the mouth of that river, and the main body had been ordered to ford it higher up, when some unpropitious circumstances made it necessary to withdraw the troops, and relinquish the design. Wolfe's original plan was, to attack a detached redoubt close to the water, and apparently situated beyond reach of the fire from the enemy's entrenchments. Should they attempt to support that fortification, he doubted not of being able to bring on a general action; and if they should remain tame spectators of its fall, he could afterward coolly examine their situation, and regulate accordingly his future operations. But observing the enemy in some confusion, he rashly changed his purpose; and listening only to the ardor of his courage, determined immediately to attack the French camp.

With that view, orders were sent to Townshend and Murray, to keep their divisions in readiness for fording the river. In the mean time, thirteen companies of English grenadiers, and part of the second battalion July 31. of Royal Americans, who, having first disembarked, had been directed to form upon the beach, until they could be properly sustained, rushed impetuously toward the enemy's entrenchments, as if, in their ungovernable fury, they could have borne down every thing before them. But they were met by so strong and steady a fire of musquetry, that they were quickly thrown into disorder, and obliged to seek shelter in or behind the detached redoubt, which the enemy

had abandoned on their approach [10]. There they continued for some time, before they could repass the river, exposed to a dreadful thunder-storm, and a more terrible storm of bullets, which proved fatal to many gallant officers, who fearlessly exposed their persons, in attempting to form the troops. And instead of lamenting this early failure, though occasioned by inexcusable precipitancy, and attended with the loss of near five hundred brave men, we ought rather to consider it as a fortunate event; for, if the whole British army had been led on to the attack, there is reason to believe, from the strength of the French entrenchments, that the consequences would have been much more destructive [11].

When this mortifying check, and the information connected with it, had convinced Wolfe of the impracticability of approaching Quebec, on the side of Montmorency, while the marquis de Montcalm chose to maintain his station, he detached brigadier Murray, with twelve hundred men in transports, to co-operate with rear-admiral Holmes above the town, in endeavouring to destroy the French shipping, and otherwise to distress and distract the enemy, by descents upon the banks of the river. In pursuance of these instructions, Murray made two vigorous attempts to land on the northern shore, but without success: in the third, he was more fortunate. By a sudden descent at Chambaud, he burned a valuable magazine, filled with clothing, arms, ammunition, and provisions. This was a service of some importance, though inadequate to his wishes. The French ships were secured in such a manner as not to be approached either by the fleet or army. He therefore returned to the camp at the request of the commander in chief, in some measure disappointed, but with the consolatory intelligence (received from his prisoners), "that Niagara was taken; that "Ticonderoga and Crown Point were abandoned; and that

10 *Letter* from General Wolfe to Mr. Pitt, in the London *Gazette*, Oct. 6, 1759.

11 This is in some measure admitted by Wolfe himself.

"general Amherst was employed in making preparations for "attacking the enemy at Isle-aux-Noix."

This intelligence, however, though agreeable in itself, afforded no prospect of immediate assistance. The season wasted apace; and the fervid spirit of general Wolfe, which could not brook the most distant prospect of censure or disgrace, began to prey upon his delicate constitution. Conscious that the conduct of no leader can ever be honoured with true applause, unless gilded with success, he dreaded alike to become the object of the pity or the scorn of his capricious countrymen. His high notions of military glory, the public hope, the good fortune of other commanders, all turned inward upon him, and converted disappointment, and the fear of miscarriage, into a disease that threatened the dissolution of his tender frame. Though determined, as he declared in his disquiet, never to return to England without accomplishing his enterprise, he sent to the ministry a pathetic, and even desponding, account of his situation, in order seemingly to prepare the minds of the people for the worst[12].

Sept. 2.

Having thus unburthened his mind, and perhaps found considerable relief, he called a council of his principal officers, in which it was resolved, that the future operations should be above the town, with a view of drawing the French general from his impregnable position, and bringing on an engagement. The camp at Montmorency was accordingly abandoned; and the troops re-embarking, some landed at Point Levi, and the rest were carried higher up the river. The good effects of this new scheme were soon visible.

The marquis de Montcalm, apprehensive that the invaders might make a distant descent, and come on the back of the

[12] "The affairs of Great Britain, I know," says he, "*require* the most "*vigorous measures;* but then the *courage* of a *handful* of *brave men* should be "*exerted only* where there is *some probability* of *success!*" *Letter* to Mr. Pitt, ubi sup.

town, detached M. de Bougainville, with fifteen hundred men, to watch their motions, and thus weakened his own army. Meanwhile a daring plan was formed by the three English brigadiers, and presented to the commander in chief; namely, a proposal for landing the troops in the night under the heights of Abraham, a little above the town, in hopes of conquering the rugged ascent before morning.

The very boldness of this plan, which was conceived while Wolfe was confined by sickness, recommended it to his generous and intrepid spirit. The stream was rapid, the shore shelving, the intended landing-place so narrow as to be easily missed in the dark, and the steep so difficult as hardly to be ascended in the day-time, even without opposition. The French general could not think that a descent would be attempted in defiance of so many obstacles. It was effected, however, with great spirit and address. Wolfe himself was one of the first who leaped ashore. Colonel Howe, with the Highlanders and light infantry, led the way up the dangerous precipice. All the troops vied with each other in emulating the gallant example; and the whole army had reached the summit, and was ranged under its proper officers, by break of day.

Sept. 13.

Montcalm, when informed that the invaders had gained the heights of Abraham, which in a manner command Quebec, could not at first credit the alarming intelligence. The ascent of an army by such a precipice exceeded all his ideas of military enterprise. He believed it to be only a feint, magnified by report, in order to induce him to abandon his strong post. But, when he was convinced of its reality, he no longer hesitated what course to pursue. When he found that a battle could not prudently be avoided, he bravely resolved to hazard one, and immediately put his troops in motion.

No sooner did general Wolfe perceive the enemy crossing the river St. Charles, than he began to form his own line, which consisted of six battalions and the Louisbourg grena-

diers. The right wing was commanded by Monckton, and the left by Murray. The light infantry secured the rear; and, as Montcalm advanced in such a manner as to shew that his intention was to out-flank the left of the English army, Townshend was sent thither with the regiment of Amherst, which he formed *en potence*, so as to present a double front to the enemy. The body of reserve consisted of one regiment, drawn up in eight subdivisions, with large intervals.

The disposition of the French army was no less masterly. The right wing was composed of one half of the colonial troops, two battalions of Europeans, and a body of Indians. The centre consisted of a column formed of regulars; and one battalion, with the remainder of the military colonists, secured the left wing. The bushes and corn-fields in the front were filled with fifteen hundred skilful marksmen, who kept up an irregular galling fire.

That fire was the more severely felt, as the British troops were ordered to keep up theirs. This they did with great patience and fortitude, until the French main body advanced within forty yards of their line. Then they poured in, at a general discharge, a thick shower of bullets, which took full effect. Nor did any relaxation of vigour take place. The fire was briskly continued; and the enemy every where yielded to it. But in the moment when the fortune of the field began to declare itself, general Wolfe, who was pressing on at the head of the grenadiers, received a fatal bullet in his breast, and fell in the arms of victory[13].

Instead of being disconcerted by the loss of their commander, every separate regiment of the British army seemed to exert itself for the honour of its own particular character, as well as the glory of the whole. While the grenadiers took vengeance with their bayonets, Murray briskly advanced with the troops under his direction, and broke the centre of

13 Knox's *Campaigns*, vol. ii.

the French army. Then it was that the Highlanders, drawing their broad swords, completed the confusion of the enemy; and falling upon them with irresistible fury, drove the fugitives with great slaughter toward the city, or under some fortifications which the Canadians had raised on the banks of the river St. Charles.

The other divisions of the British army did not behave with less gallantry. Howe, with part of the light infantry, having taken post behind a small copse, sallied out frequently upon the flanks of the enemy, during their spirited attack on the other part of his division, and often drove them into heaps, while brigadier Townshend advanced against their front; so that the French general's design of turning the left flank of the English army was baffled. But the gallant officer, who had so remarkably contributed to this service, was suddenly called to a more important station, in consequence of a new disaster. Monckton (who had succeeded general Wolfe, according to the order of military precedency) being dangerously wounded, the chief command devolved upon Townshend, as next in seniority. On receiving the melancholy news, he hastened to the centre; and finding the troops somewhat disordered in the ardor of pursuit, he formed them again with all possible celerity. This act of generalship, however, was scarcely completed, when M. de Bougainville, with a fresh body of two thousand men, appeared in the rear of the victorious army. He had begun his march from Cape Rouge, as soon as he learned that the British forces had gained the heights of Abraham. But fortunately the main body of the French army was, by this time, so much broken and dispersed, that Bougainville did not think it advisable to hazard an attack [14].

The victory was indeed decisive. The brave marquis de Montcalm, and his second in command, were mortally

[14] *Letter* from brigadier-general Townshend to Mr. Pitt, in the London *Gazette*, Oct. 17, 1759.——Knox's *Campaigns*, vol. ii.

wounded. About five hundred of their men were killed, and above twelve hundred were wounded or made prisoners. The remainder of their army, unable to keep the field, retired to Trois-Rivieres and Montreal.

The loss of the English, with respect to number, was very inconsiderable: both the killed and wounded did not exceed seven hundred men. But the death of general Wolfe was a national misfortune, and accompanied with circumstances sufficiently interesting to merit a particular detail. He first received a shot in the wrist, but, wrapping a handkerchief round his hand, he encouraged his men to advance, without manifesting the least discomposure. He next received a shot in the groin, which he also concealed. Even after the mortal bullet had pierced his breast, he suffered himself unwillingly to be carried behind the ranks. Under all the agonies of approaching dissolution, his anxiety for the fortune of the field continued; and when he was informed that the French fled on all sides, "Then," said he, "I am happy!"—and instantly expired, in a kind of patriotic transport, which seemed to diffuse over his darkening countenance an air of exultation and triumph.

Wolfe, at the age of thirty-three, to all the fervour of spirit, the liberality of sentiment, the humanity, generosity, and enlarged views of the hero, united no inconsiderable share of the presence of mind and military skill that constitute the great commander. He only required years and opportunities of action to elevate him to an equality with the most celebrated generals of any age or nation; to moderate his ardor, expand his faculties, and give, to his intuitive perception and scientific knowledge, the correctness of judgment perfected by experience.

The French general was not inferior to his antagonist in military talents. Though less fortunate in the last scene of his life, he had often been victorious; and he made, perhaps, the most judicious dispositions that human prudence could suggest, both before and during the engagement. Nor were

his dying words less remarkable than those of Wolfe. "I "am glad of it!" said he, when his attendants intimated to him that his wound was mortal; and when they added, that he could survive only a few hours, he gallantly replied, "So much the better!—I shall not then live to see the "surrender of Quebec[15]."

That event, as the illustrious Montcalm foresaw, was not distant. Five days after the victory gained in its neighbourhood, the city surrendered to the English fleet and army, which were preparing for a grand attack. By the articles of capitulation, the inhabitants were to be protected in the free exercise of their religion, and in the full enjoyment of their civil rights, until a general peace should decide their future condition[16]. Thus was the capital of New France reduced under the dominion of Great Britain, after an arduous campaign of about three months; and, all circumstances considered, perhaps there never was a naval and military enterprise conducted with more steady perseverance, or distinguished by greater vigour and ability.

While the British generals were thus making rapid strides toward the final conquest of the French empire in America, M. de Lally, the French governor in the East-Indies, threatened with utter subjection the English settlements in the Carnatic. When he had reduced Fort St. David and Cudalore, as already related, he prepared to attack Madras. This place was regularly invested by two thousand Europeans, and a large body of sepoys, after its brave but slender garrison had made every possible effort to keep the enemy at a distance. By the firm resolution of governor Pigot, and the persevering courage of the colonels Laurence and Draper, and other gallant officers, it was enabled to hold out till the arrival of succours. On the appearance of a reinforcement of six hundred men from England, the French general found himself under the necessity of raising the siege; greatly

15 Knox's *Campaigns*, vol. ii.

16 London *Gazette*, ubi sup.

mortified and enraged at a disappointment, which blasted all his sanguine hopes of expelling the English from the peninsula of Hindostan.

The British forces in the Carnatic, though still inferior to those of the enemy in number, now took the field in different divisions, and reduced the French settlements of Masulipatam and Conjeveram. Major Brereton, however, failed in a rash but vigorous attack upon Wandewash. But that town was afterward taken by colonel Coote, who bravely maintained his conquest, and defeated a strong army, when general Lally had made a bold attempt to regain possession of the disputed settlement.

With respect to the battle of Wandewash, we may observe, that Lally, being early deserted by his whole body of cavalry, in consequence of a brisk cannonade, put himself at the head of his line of infantry, and impetuously rushed into action. Colonel Coote coolly received the French at the head of his own regiment, which he had formed in a line, opposed obliquely to theirs. Nor did he alter his disposition, although they did. After two discharges, the regiment of Lorrain vigorously pressed on, in the form of a column, through a heavy fire, and threatened to bear down all resistance. In an instant the two regiments were engaged at the push of the bayonet. The front of the French column at first broke the English line, and a momentary confusion ensued. But no sooner did man encounter man in single opposition, than the superiority of British prowess was conspicuous. The field was soon strewed with killed and wounded Frenchmen. The regiment of Lorrain was broken, routed, and hotly pursued.

This conflict was followed by another, no less bloody, which finally decided the fortune of the day. As soon as colonel Coote could restrain the ardor of his own victorious battalion, he rode along the line, and ordered major Brereton to take possession of a fortified post, which the enemy seemed to have abandoned. In making this effort, the major was

mortally wounded, but not before he saw that the post was gained. "Follow your blow!" said he nobly, to some of the soldiers who offered to assist him; "and leave me to "my fate!"

That service was gallantly performed by major Monson. In vain did M. de Bussy attempt to recover the post, at the head of the regiment of Lally; in vain, to maintain the combat on the plain. His horse being shot under him, he was made prisoner, in leading on to the push of the bayonet the few troops that preserved any firmness. Major Monson received his sword. The regiment was utterly broken; and Lally, having lost six hundred men, was happy to save the wreck of his army, by abandoning his camp to the victors [17].

Nor were these the only achievements of the British forces in the East Indies, in the course of this memorable year. During the progress of colonel Coote on the coast of Coromandel, admiral Pococke, with an inferior force, defeated the French fleet, under M. d'Aché, near Ceylon, though without capturing any ships. Surat, a place of great consequence on the coast of Malabar, was taken by a detachment from the English settlement of Bombay. The French factory there was destroyed; and, on the opposite side of the peninsula, the Dutch were chastised for attempting to acquire an ascendency in Bengal.

These avaricious republicans, whose grasping spirit no principles could moderate, no treaties restrain, became jealous of the growth of the English power in the East Indies, and, enraged at the loss of certain branches of trade, which they had been accustomed to monopolise, formed a conspiracy for the extirpation of their rivals, as atrocious as that of Amboyna. In consequence of this conspiracy (in which the French and the soubahdar of Bengal are supposed to have been engaged), the government of Batavia, under pretence of reinforcing the settlement of Chinsura, sent an

[17] Orme's *Hist.* book xii.

armament of seven ships, and thirteen hundred soldiers, up the river Ougli. The troops disembarked near Tannah Fort; and a detachment from Chinsura advanced to meet them. Colonel Forde, who had been appointed to watch their motions, at the head of the troops of the English East-India company, gave battle first to the detachment and afterward to the main body; defeated both; killed four hundred men, and made the fugitives prisoners. About the same time, three English India-ships gave battle to the Dutch squadron, and obliged the whole to strike, after an obstinate engagement[18].

Thus checked, the factory at Chinsura agreed to such conditions as the government of Calcutta thought proper to impose, disclaiming all knowledge of hostile intentions. Similar protestations were made by the states-general in Europe; and the British ministry, though by no means convinced of their good faith, seemed to admit their apology. The chastisement inflicted, though necessary for self-defence, was thought sufficiently severe to operate as a correction.

While the British arms were signally victorious by land in both hemispheres, the success of our countrymen was no less splendid by sea. Elate with their advantage at St. Cas, the French talked loudly of retaliating the insults on their coasts, by invading Great Britain and Ireland. Their ministry, embarrassed by the failure of public credit, were happy to indulge the national vanity. Large bodies of troops were accordingly assembled on the coasts of the channel; men-of-war and transports were collected, and flat-bottomed boats prepared at the principal sea-ports. A small armament, said to be destined for the invasion of Scotland, was to sail from Dunkirk; that which was supposed to be designed against Ireland was to sail from Lower Bretagne, the

18 Compared *Relations* of the hostile attempt of the Dutch in Bengal, transmitted to the India-house.

troops being under the command of the duke d'Aiguillon; while the troops intended for the invasion of England, if any such intention existed, were to sail from Havre de Grace, and other ports on the coast of Normandy, and land in the night on the opposite shore.

To defeat the purpose of these boasted armaments, an English squadron, under commodore Boyes, was stationed off Dunkirk; the port of Havre de Grace was watched, and the town fiercely bombarded, by rear-admiral Rodney; sir Edward Hawke, with a formidable force, blocked up the harbour of Brest, where the French fleet, under M. de Conflans, lay in readiness to conduct, as was supposed, the transports and flat-bottomed boats belonging to the grand armament; and a small squadron, detached from that under Hawke, hovered on the coast of Bretagne. These precautions were continued during the whole summer; and the projected invasions seemed, in consequence of so strict a blockade, to be laid aside by the French ministry, till the month of August, when, the battle of Minden having baffled all their designs upon Hanover, they turned their attention seriously toward their naval armaments.

In the mean time admiral Boscawen, who commanded the British fleet in the Mediterranean, was employed in blocking up, in the harbour of Toulon, a French squadron under M. de la Clue, intended to assist, as was believed, in the descents upon the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland. But Boscawen finding it necessary to return to Gibraltar to careen, M. de la Clue took that opportunity to attempt to pass the Straits, and had nearly accomplished his purpose, when he was discovered by the English admiral; pursued, and overtaken, on the 18th of August, off Cape Lagos, on the coast of Portugal. The French squadron consisted of twelve, and the English of fourteen ships of the line. The former made a faint resistance. The admiral's ship, named the Ocean, of eighty guns, and the Redoutable, of seventy-

four guns, were destroyed; and the Temeraire and the Modeste were taken [19].

This disaster did not discourage the French ministry. The greatest preparations for an invasion were made at Brest and Rochefort; and the long-neglected pretender, again flattered and caressed, is said to have remained in the neighbourhood of Vannes, in disguise, in order once more to hazard his person, and countenance a revolt in the dominions of his ancestors, to serve the ambitious purposes of France. Happily the execution of that scheme, which might have produced great confusion, was prevented, by the vigilance of sir Edward Hawke, till the season of action had elapsed. But the French, in their ardor, seemed to disregard the course of the seasons and the rage of the elements. The English fleet being driven off the coast of France by a violent storm, Conflans put to sea with twenty-one sail of the line and four frigates, and threw the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland into the utmost terror and consternation. But their alarm was transitory.

Sir Edward Hawke, who had taken shelter in Torbay, put to sea with twenty-three ships of the line, and came up with the enemy between Belle-isle and Cape Quiberon. The French admiral being on his own coast, with which he was perfectly well acquainted, and not choosing openly to hazard a battle, or expose himself to the disgrace of a retreat, attempted to take advantage of a lee-shore thickly sown with rocks and shoals. Among these he hoped to remain secure, or to profit by the temerity of his antagonist. He accordingly collected his fleet under the land. Hawke saw the danger, and determined to brave it; though, in so doing, he perhaps obeyed the dictates of his own impetuous courage rather than those of a prudent foresight. While his fleet remained entire, he was at all times equal to the important charge with which he was entrusted by his

19 Boscawen's *Letter*, in the London *Gazette*, Sept. 7, 1759.

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sovereign, the protection of the British kingdoms; but, should it be destroyed by fortuitous means, the consequences might prove very distressing to his country. Fortunately, on this occasion, the English admiral, whose honest mind was not the most enlightened, and whose lion-heart had never listened to the cautious suggestions of fear, being little acquainted with consequential reasoning, paid less regard to the possible disaster than to the probability of acquiring a complete victory, and essentially serving his country, by the destruction of the French fleet. Regardless of every peril, he bore down with full sail upon the enemy, about two o'clock in the afternoon, and ordered the pilot to lay his own ship, the Royal George, along-side of that of the French admiral, named the Royal Sun.

Nov. 20.

The pilot represented the danger of the coast. "By this "remonstrance," said Hawke, "you have done your duty: "now execute my orders, and I will endeavour to do mine." He reluctantly obeyed. Conflans did not decline the combat; but a French captain, with the gallantry peculiar to his nation, threw himself between the two admirals. One broadside from the Royal George, and a high sea, sent his noble ship, called the Thesée, with him and all his crew, to the bottom. The Superbe shared the same fate. The Formidable struck her colours. The Royal Sun drove a-shore, and was burned by her own people, as was the Hero by the British seamen. The Juste sunk at the mouth of the Loire. Unfortunately, however, a tempestuous night, which saved the French fleet from utter ruin, proved fatal to two English ships of the line. They ran upon a sand-bank, and were irretrievably lost. But the men, and part of the stores, were saved [20].

This justly celebrated victory, which broke the boasted effort of the naval power of France, freed the inhabitants of

[20] Sir Edward Hawke's *Letter*, in London *Gazette*, Nov. 1759, and information afterward received relative to the action.

South Britain from all the apprehensions of an invasion. But the people of North Britain were still kept under alarm. The famous adventurer Thurot had sailed from Dunkirk before M. de Conflans left Brest. His squadron consisted of five frigates, carrying about twelve hundred soldiers. With this force he reached the Scotish coast, and showed a disposition to land in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen: but being pursued by commodore Boyes, he was obliged to take shelter on the coast of Sweden, and afterward on that of Norway. During these voyages in an inclement season, his men became sickly, his ships were greatly shattered, and he lost company with one of them. He resolved, however, to attempt something worthy of his former exploits, before his return to France. Nor was he without hopes of yet co-operating with Conflans, with whose defeat he was unacquainted. He accordingly sailed for the coast of Ireland, and took Carrickfergus. Having there victualed his ships, pillaged the town, and obtained certain intelligence of Hawke's success, he again put to sea, and steered his course homeward. But he was swiftly pursued by a squadron under Elliot, and overtaken near the isle of Man. The force, on both sides, was nearly equal: the commanders were rivals in valour and naval skill; the crews were tried; and the engagement that took place was obstinate and bloody. The death of the gallant Thurot determined the contest. His principal ship struck her colours, and the rest followed the example[21]. Feb. 28, 1760.

These naval victories, with the conquests acquired by the British arms in North America, and in the East and West Indies—in a word, wherever shipping could give a superiority—sufficiently pointed out to the intelligent part of the nation the true line of future hostilities, and the madness of persisting in the prosecution of a ruinous German war. Yet was it resolved, by the popular administration, not only to

21 London *Gazette*, March 3, 1760.

prosecute that war, but to make it the supreme object during the ensuing campaign. Above two millions sterling were accordingly granted, by parliament, in subsidies to German princes, beside the enormous supplies demanded for maintaining twenty-five thousand British soldiers in Westphalia. And all these troops and subsidies, it must be owned, were necessary for the defence of the electorate of Hanover, and in order to enable the king of Prussia to support his declining fortune against the Austrians, Russians, Swedes, and the army of the empire. But why the people of Great Britain should burthen themselves, for such purposes, with a great amount of additional debt, was a question that no good citizen could answer with temper, and which a quiet subject would not choose to investigate. It will, therefore, suffice to observe, that such was the wish of the monarch, and the will of the minister, who governed the populace and the parliament with absolute sway; and who had the address to convince both, that it would be ungenerous in Great Britain, and unworthy of her glory, to desert an illustrious ally in distress, after having encouraged him to engage in so arduous a struggle; or to permit the electoral dominions of her sovereign, how small soever their value, to fall into the hands of an enemy whom she had vanquished in every other part of the world.

The people of France were no less generous to their king. As the ordinary resources of the state had failed, the principal nobility and gentry, in imitation of his example, threw their plate into the public treasury, to enable him to support with vigour the war in Germany; conscious that the strength of the kingdom could there, on its own frontier, be exerted to the greatest advantage, and that of Great Britain with the least effect. The French forces in Westphalia were now so augmented, as nearly to reach the number of one hundred thousand men, under the duke de Broglio; while an inferior army was formed upon the Rhine, under the count de St. Germain.

The allied army, under prince Ferdinand, was less numerous than that under Broglio; but the troops were in better condition. The confederates, however, very prudently acted chiefly on the defensive. Yet if Broglio and St. Germain had not come to an open rupture, in consequence of which the count left the service, prince Ferdinand would have found himself under the necessity of hazarding a general action, or of suffering himself to be surrounded. Before this quarrel arose, the progress of the French arms had been very rapid. Broglio, paying no regard to the places of strength possessed by the allies in his front, pushed into the landgraviate of Hesse with the grand army, leaving detachments to reduce the castles of Marpurg and Dillenburg; while St. Germain penetrated through the duchy of Westphalia, and the two armies, in July, formed a junction near Corbach.

Ignorant of this junction, and desirous of preventing it, prince Ferdinand, who had fallen back with the allied army from Fritzlar, and was retreating toward the Dymel, sent the hereditary prince, with a ſtrong detachment, before him to Saxenhausen, where he meant to encamp. Continuing to advance, that gallant youth found a body of French troops formed near Corbach; and concluding them to be St. Germain's van-guard, as they did not seem to exceed ten battalions and fifteen squadrons, he attacked them with great fury. But the French stood their ground with firmness; and, as they were continually reinforced with fresh troops from the main army, the hereditary prince was obliged to retire in some disorder, and with no small loss. A few days after, however, he severely retaliated upon the enemy, by surprising a French detachment, under M. Glaubitz, at Emsdorff. Beside killing a considerable number of all ranks, and taking their artillery and baggage, he made the commander in chief, with one hundred and seventy-seven officers, and two thousand two hundred and eighty-two private men, prisoners of war[22].

[22] London *Gazette*, July 29, 1760.

During these transactions, the duke de Broglio remained encamped on the heights of Corbach. When the chevalier de Muy (who had succeeded the count de St. Germain, as second in command) had passed the Dymel at Stadtberg with thirty-five thousand men, and extended this body along the banks of that river, in order to cut off the communication of the allies with Westphalia, prince Ferdinand also passed the Dymel to give him battle. He accordingly ordered the hereditary prince and general Sporcken to turn the left wing of the enemy near Warburg, while he himself advanced against the centre, on the thirty-first day of July, with the main body of the allied army. Thus attacked in flank and rear, and in danger of being surrounded, the French, after a smart engagement, retired with precipitation toward Stadtberg, leaving on the field about fifteen hundred men dead or wounded. About an equal number were made prisoners in the pursuit, by the British cavalry. The loss of the allies was very inconsiderable[23].

By this advantage, which ensured him the command of the Weser and the Dymel, prince Ferdinand was enabled to maintain his communication with Westphalia, and to prevent the French from penetrating deeply into the electorate of Hanover. But in order to obtain these important ends, he was under the necessity, notwithstanding his success, of sacrificing the whole landgraviate of Hesse. The enemy even reduced Gottingen and Munden, in the dominions of his Britannic majesty, while the people of England were celebrating with bonfires and illuminations the victory obtained by their arms, which was immediately followed by all the apparent consequences of a defeat.

Prince Ferdinand, however, regardless of appearances, continued to occupy Warburg, for more than a month after the battle; and Broglio, over-awed by so commanding a position, attempted nothing farther of any consequence during

[23] Lond. *Gazette*, Aug. 9, 1760.

the campaign. In the mean time the hereditary prince undertook a rambling expedition to the Lower Rhine, and laid siege to Wesel. But he was defeated near the convent of Campen, on the fifteenth of October, by a body of French troops under M. de Castries, and sixteen hundred of his men were killed, wounded, or made prisoners. Soon after this severe check, both armies went into winter-quarters; the French being left in possession of Hesse, and of the whole country eastward of the Weser, to the frontiers of the electorate of Hanover. The British troops were cantoned in the bishopric of Paderborn, where they suffered great hardships from scarcity of forage and provisions. Few campaigns, between armies so numerous and well appointed, have been more barren of memorable events.

The king of Prussia, as usual, was more active than the general of the allies; and the dangerous state of his affairs seemed to require the most vigorous exertions. He began the campaign, however, on a defensive plan. Having passed the winter in Saxony, he took possession of a very strong camp, between the Elbe and the Moldau, in the month of April. This camp he fortified in every place that was accessible, and mounted the works with two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. By these means he was enabled to maintain his ground against the grand Austrian army, under mareschal Daun, whose whole attention he engaged, and at the same time to send a strong reinforcement to his brother, without exposing himself to any danger.

Prince Henry had assembled an army near Frankfort on the Oder, where he took various positions, in order to oppose the Russians, and to protect Silesia and the electorate of Brandenburg, which were threatened by different bodies of the enemy. Fouquet, another Prussian general, had fixed his quarters in the neighbourhood of Glatz; and whilst he covered Silesia on that side, he kept up a communication with the prince.

These arrangements were judicious; but the wisest precau-

tions may be eluded by cunning, or disconcerted by enterprise. General Laudohn, the most enterprising of all the Austrian commanders, having quitted his camp in Bohemia, with a strong but light and disencumbered army, alternately menaced Breslau, Berlin, and Schweidnitz. At length he seemed to fix upon the last of those towns; and Fouquet, deceived by the artful feint, marched to Schweidnitz with the main body of his troops, and left Glatz uncovered.

No sooner did Laudohn perceive, that this stratagem had succeeded, than he made use of another, and with equal success. He took possession of Landshut, which he discovered a design of securing, and left there a small body of troops. Fouquet, alarmed at so unexpected a movement, quitted Schweidnitz with precipitation, and drove the Austrians from Landshut with great ease. Meanwhile Laudohn had made himself master of several important passes, by which he was enabled almost to surround the small army under Fouquet. The Prussian general did every thing possible, in such circumstances, to defend himself against a superior enemy. But all his efforts were ineffectual. The Austrians attacked his entrenchments with irresistible fury; and he himself having received two mortal wounds, and three thousand of his men being slain, the rest, amounting to six thousand, surrendered prisoners of war. The reduction of Glatz, on which Laudohn fell like a thunderbolt, was the immediate consequence of this victory[24].

The king's defensive plan seemed now to be entirely deranged. One of his three armies had been, in a manner, ruined; and the victorious Laudohn was ready to lay siege to Breslau, where he expected to be joined by the Russians, and enabled to complete the conquest of Silesia, the great object of the war. Frederic saw the danger; and while the fortitude of his spirit determined him to meet it without shrinking, his daring genius led him to hope, that important

[24] Prussian and Austrian *Relations* compared.

advantages might be drawn from the very bosom of misfortune. He accordingly quitted his strong camp, and directed his march toward Silesia. Daun pursued the same route, and by forced marches anticipated the motions of his heroic antagonist, who was more dilatory than usual.

The Austrian general had reached Gorlitz, and was pushing on to Lauban, when the king received the agreeable intelligence of his rapid progress, and, by one of the boldest acts of generalship recorded in the annals of war, wheeled into the opposite direction; repassed the Spree near Bautzen, and threw himself unexpectedly before Dresden. His appearance struck the garrison like the springing of a mine. But Macguire, the governor, being an officer of courage and experience, resolved to defend the place to extremity; and as it had been strengthened by additional fortifications since it had fallen into the hands of the Austrians, it baffled all the assaults of the Prussians, and gloriously resisted every mode of attack, until Daun returned from Silesia, and obliged the king to relinquish an enterprise, which deserved to have been crowned with the most brilliant success[25].

Chagrined at his disappointment, the Prussian monarch offered battle to Daun; but the cautious commander prudently declined the challenge, and took every measure to render an attack impracticable. In the mean time general Laudohn, having completed his preparations, laid siege to Breslau, and endeavoured to intimidate the governor and the inhabitants into an immediate capitulation, by a pompous display of his strength. He set forth, that his forces consisted of fifty battalions and eighty squadrons; that seventy-five

[25] It will detract little from the merit of this enterprise, to suppose, as has been insinuated, that the king had an intention of marching into Silesia, till he found that Daun had the start of him. But, if such had been really his purpose, there is no reason to suppose he would have permitted Daun to gain upon him a march of two days; as, on every other occasion, he exceeded the Austrians in the celerity of his motions. And his return was far more rapid than his advance.

thousand Russians were within three-days' march; that it was in vain for the governor to expect succour from the king, then on the other side of the Elbe, and still more vain to look for relief from prince Henry, who must sink beneath the sword of the Russians, if he should attempt to obstruct their progress. And he declared that the garrison must expect no terms, nor the inhabitants any favour, if they should resolve to hold out.

Finding all his threats ineffectual, as the governor's reply was firm and manly, Laudohn endeavoured to put them in execution. He tried to carry the town by assault, while he thundered upon it, from an immense artillery, a shower of bombs and red-hot bullets. But the assault failed; and the awful bombardment affected only the wretched inhabitants, on whom it fell like the vengeance of Heaven. At length an army was seen, and tremulous hope and convulsive fear shook, by turns, the hearts of the distracted citizens:—but it was not an army of Russians. A deliverer appeared in the person of prince Henry, whose peculiar fortune it was, with a happy conformity to his beneficent disposition, more frequently to save than to destroy. He had marched one hundred and twenty miles in five days, with all his artillery and baggage. The Austrians abandoned the siege on his approach[26].

Aug. 5.

But the rapid march of prince Henry, and the relief of Breslau, seemed only to retard for a moment the ruin of the king's affairs. Laudohn, lately victorious, and still formidable, though obliged to retire before the royal brother, kept Schweidnitz and Neiss under blockade, and anxiously waited the arrival of the Russians; when he hoped not only to receive the submission of those two places, but to return to the siege of the capital, and complete at one blow the conquest of Silesia.

The main body of the Russian army, under count Czerni-

26 Lond. *Gazette*, Sept. 9, 1760.

cheff, had actually reached the frontiers of that province, and wanted only a few days' unobstructed march to form the much-feared and desired junction. Another body of Russians had entered Pomerania, where the Prussian forces did not exceed five thousand horse and foot, and threatened to invest Colberg; while the Swedes resumed their operations in the same country, with an army of twenty thousand men.

A plan of mere defence, in such circumstances, must have proved altogether ineffectual. Silesia was in danger of being instantly subdued, by the junction of the Austrians and Russians. The king therefore marched thither without delay; and left Daun, who had the start of him at setting out, considerably behind. He passed five rivers with a numerous army, clogged with heavy artillery, and above two thousand waggons; and while one body of forces hung on his flank, another watched his rear, and a third presented itself in front, he traversed a tract of country near two hundred miles in extent, under all those perils and difficulties, with a celerity that would have rendered memorable the march of a detachment of light troops. But he was not able, with all his activity, to bring Laudohn to action, before that general was joined by the Austrian armies under Daun and Lascy; and, by the forces of these three generals, he was in danger of being surrounded in his camp at Lignitz. In vain did he attempt, by various movements, to divide the enemy's strength, to turn their flanks, or attack them under any other disadvantage: the nature of the ground, and the skill of the Austrian generals, rendered abortive all the suggestions of ingenuity.

While thus circumstanced, he received intelligence that the Russians were ready to pass the Oder at Auras. As the least of two dangers, he resolved to attack the Austrians before the arrival of a new enemy. Meanwhile Daun, having reconnoitred the king's situation at Lignitz, had formed an intention of attacking him by surprise, in the

night, with the united strength of the three armies; and he had communicated his design to the two other generals.

Of this scheme, it is probable, the Prussian monarch was not ignorant; as, on the same night that it was to have taken effect, he quitted his camp, with the utmost privacy, and occupied an advantageous post on the heights of Pfaffendorff, by which Laudohn was to advance. Daun, with no less precaution, made his approaches toward the Prussian camp; but, to his astonishment, on his arrival, no enemy appeared. When day broke, however, he could perceive at a distance the rising of a thick smoke, which left him little room to doubt in what business the king was engaged, or for what purpose he had quitted his station.

As Laudohn was eagerly pressing on to Lignitz, and feeding his heart with splendid hopes of the glory which he should acquire, by his distinguished share in the action that was to determine the fate of the illustrious Frederic, he was furiously attacked, about three o'clock in the morning, by the Prussian army, regularly drawn up, and obliged to retire, after a fierce conflict, when eight thousand of his men had been killed, wounded, or captured. Daun had no opportunity of assisting him. His Prussian majesty, who exposed his own person in a remarkable manner in order to animate his troops, was unguarded in no other respect. He had secured his rear so effectually with a strong body of reserve, and by a numerous artillery, judiciously planted on the heights of Pfaffendorff, that an attack was impracticable. Daun therefore found himself under the necessity of remaining inactive, and of waiting, in anxious suspense, the issue of the momentous combat. It was finally decided by six o'clock, when the Austrians gave way on all sides, and were pursued as far as the Katsbach, a river that falls into the Oder below Lignitz. The king did not choose to push his advantage, lest he should afford the wily and watchful Daun an opportunity of disjoining his army[27].

Aug. 14.

[27] Prussian and Austrian *Accounts* compared.

By this victory, he not only rescued himself from imminent danger, but prevented the long-dreaded junction of the Russian and Austrian armies in Silesia: for count Czernicheff was so intimidated by the defeat of the Austrians, that he immediately repassed the Oder. Having joined his brother at Neumarck, and opened a communication with Breslau, the king now marched against Daun, who had formed the blockade of Schweidnitz; routed a body of the enemy under general Beck, and obliged the grand Austrian army to forego its purpose, and take refuge among the mountains of Landshut.

While the active potentate was making these heroic efforts in Silesia, the reputation of his arms was ably supported in Saxony by general Hulsen, who gained several advantages over the army of the empire. But very different was the state of his affairs in other quarters. The Russians, after they repassed the Oder, pushed a strong detachment into Brandenburg; and count Czernicheff being joined by a large body of Austrians under general Lascy, the united army made itself master of Berlin[28]. Nor was this mortifying blow the only stroke of ill fortune that fell upon the gallant monarch. Oct. 6.

The Russians and Austrians, having levied a contribution upon the inhabitants of Berlin, destroyed the magazines, arsenals, and founderies, and plundered the palaces, retired by different routes, on hearing that Frederic was advancing to the relief of his capital. The city suffered considerably, especially in its ornaments; the adjacent country was ravaged, and the king sustained a very great loss in valuable furniture and military stores. But these were not the worst consequences that attended the invasion of Brandenburg, and the assault upon the seat of government, of arts, and of elegance.

When Berlin was first threatened, Hulsen left Saxony,

28 Lond. *Gazette*, Oct. 28, 1760.

and attempted to oppose the enemy. He found himself unequal to the generous purpose, yet continued to hover in the neighbourhood, in order to seize any advantage that might offer. In the mean time the prince of Deux-ponts, meeting with no interruption, made rapid progress in Saxony. Leipsic, Torgau, and Wittenberg, successively surrendered to the Imperialists. And while the illustrious Frederic was thus losing his footing in Saxony, which had been hitherto the great support of his armies, a detachment from the French army in Westphalia laid Halberstadt under contribution. One part of Pomerania was ravaged by the Swedes, and another by the Russians, who had invested Colberg both by land and sea. The king's situation again seemed desperate. All his motions, in his march toward Brandenburg, were watched by Daun, whose army had been reinforced; and, in his absence, Laudohn had formed the siege of Cosel, and threatened the whole Silesian province with subjection.

It now became necessary for the warlike prince, who was still at the head of a strong army, to call up once more the vigour of his genius, and attempt by some bold exertion to extricate himself from all his difficulties. He had determined to make such an exertion. And no sooner did he learn, that the enemy had abandoned Berlin, and evacuated Brandenburg, than he passed the Elbe, and rushed into Saxony. Daun followed him with seventy thousand men, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Torgau; his right wing extending to the Elbe, by which it was covered, and his centre and left being secured by ponds, hills, and woods. A stronger position than that which was seised by the Austrian general could not have been chosen by a small army, as a security against one of the greatest force. Yet did his Prussian majesty, encompassed by dangers, resolve to attack, with only fifty thousand men, that able and experienced commander in his seemingly impregnable camp, as he could not hope to draw him from it, and winter was fast approaching.

In consequence of this resolution, the most daring that could be dictated by despair, the king divided his army into three bodies, and made all his dispositions with as much coolness and caution, as if it had been the result of the most guarded prudence. Hulsen, with one body, was directed to take post in a wood on the left of the hostile army, and had orders not to move until he should find that the other divisions of the Prussian forces were engaged. Ziethen was instructed to charge on the enemy's right: and the grand attack in front was to be conducted by his majesty in person. These dispositions being made, the king informed his officers that he was determined to conquer or die. They unanimously answered, they would die or conquer with him.

Pleased with the ardor of his troops, and convinced that they would not disappoint his hopes, the intrepid monarch, having made his approaches in the morning, began an attack upon the enemy's camp about two in the afternoon. He was received with the fire of two hundred pieces of cannon, disposed along the front of the Austrian line. The Prussian infantry fought with uncommon resolution; but they were at length broken, and repulsed with great slaughter. The cavalry then broke the Austrian infantry by an impetuous shock, but were soon forced to retire by the pressure of fresh battalions, which poured in on every side. And victory seemed ready to declare for the Austrians, when Ziethen, with the Prussian left wing, fell upon the enemy's rear; and Daun, having received a dangerous wound in the thigh, was carried off the field.

Nov. 3.

Encouraged by the confusion occasioned by these fortunate circumstances, the Prussian infantry returned to the charge. The cavalry, following their example, threw several bodies of Austrians into irreparable disorder; and if the darkness of night had not prevented the possibility of pursuit, and enabled the routed army to escape over the Elbe, the victory would have been complete, and the carnage

extremely great. As matters terminated, however, the loss of lives, in the battle of Torgau, was not inconsiderable. About eight thousand men were killed or wounded on each side. And the Prussians took seven thousand prisoners, among whom were four generals, and two hundred inferior officers[29].

Of all the victories of the king of Prussia, this was perhaps the most glorious, as it certainly was the most important. His troops, though different from those invincible battalions, now no more, which he had formerly led into Bohemia, and which conquered at Lowositz, Prague, Lissa, and Rosbach, behaved with a firmness worthy of the most hardy veterans. In no battle did he ever expose his own person so much; yet, as if invulnerable, a bullet only grazed upon his breast. His courage and conduct were alike conspicuous. The Austrians pretended to dispute with him the honour of the action: but its consequences sufficiently proved where the advantage lay.

He immediately entered Torgau; recovered all Saxony, except Dresden; and put his troops into winter-quarters in that electorate, instead of being obliged to canton them in his own wasted dominions. He attained the object for which he fought, and at the same time added new lustre to his arms. The shock of victory seemed to be felt in every hostile quarter. Laudohn abruptly raised the blockade of Cosel, and evacuated Silesia. The Russians abandoned the siege of Colberg in Eastern Pomerania, and retired into Poland; while the Swedes, defeated by the Prussians in Western Pomerania, were forced to take refuge under the cannon of Stralsund.

During these important transactions on the continent of Europe, events of still greater moment took place in other quarters of the globe. While the allies of Great Britain, though supported by her money and troops, with difficulty

[29] Prussian and Austrian *Gazettes* compared.

maintained their ground in Germany, which alone seemed to engage her attention, her own arms, under the direction of British officers, were crowned with signal success in North America and the East Indies.

The taking of Quebec, it had been generally supposed, would be followed by the final submission of Canada, without any farther struggle. But this was soon discovered to be a dangerous error. Although the possession of that city was necessary to the conquest of the province, much yet remained to be done before it could be subjected to Great Britain.

The French, after the battle of Quebec, were reinforced at Montreal with six thousand Canadians, and a party of Indians; and M. de Levi, who had succeeded the marquis de Montcalm in the chief command, proposed to attempt the recovery of the capital early in the spring. In that resolution he was encouraged by an oversight of the English naval officers, who had not made sufficient provision against his attaining a superiority on the river St. Laurence. No vessels of force had been left at Quebec, on a supposition that they could not be useful in winter.

The French general had even thought of attempting the recovery of the place during the rigour of that season, although a British garrison of five thousand men had been left in it, under the command of general Murray. But, on reconnoitring, he found the out-posts so well secured, and the governor so vigilant and active, that he delayed the enterprise until the month of April. Then his artillery, provisions, ammunition, and heavy baggage, fell down the St. Laurence from Montreal, under the convoy of six stout frigates. This squadron secured to him the undisputed command of the river; a circumstance of the utmost importance to the execution of his whole design. And after a march of ten days, he arrived with ten thousand men at Point au Tremble, within a few miles of Quebec.

Meanwhile general Murray had omitted no step that

could be taken by an able and experienced officer for maintaining the important conquest committed to his care. But the garrison had suffered so much from excessive cold in the winter, and from the want of vegetables and fresh provisions, that he had not above three thousand men fit for service, when he received intelligence of the approach of the French army. With this small but gallant body, he intrepidly resolved to meet the enemy in the field, in order to avoid the tedious hardships and the dangers of a siege, in an extensive town, with a sickly garrison, and all the inhabitants secretly hostile to him. He accordingly marched out, on the 28th of April, to the heights of Abraham, and attacked M. de Levi with great impetuosity, near Sillery. But being out-flanked, and in danger of being surrounded, he was obliged to retire, after an obstinate conflict, in which one thousand of his men were killed or wounded [30]. The French sustained a much greater loss in this action, without deriving any positive advantage from it; for Murray, instead of being dispirited by his defeat, seemed only to be roused to more strenuous efforts. The same bold spirit, which had led him to encounter the enemy in the field with a very small force, in hopes of obliging them to desist from their enterprise, now animated him in the defence of Quebec with a feeble garrison, since defence had become necessary. Nor did the French general lose a moment in improving his victory. He opened trenches before the town on the very evening of the battle; but it was the eleventh of May before he could bring any batteries to bear on the fortifications. By that time Murray had completed some out-works, and planted a numerous artillery on the ramparts; so that the French batteries were in a manner silenced, by the superior fire of the garrison. And the place was soon relieved, by the fortunate arrival of the English fleet, under lord Colville and commodore Swanton. M. de Levi

[30] *Letter* from general Murray, in the Lond. *Gazette*, June 27, 1760.—— Knox's *Campaigns*, vol. ii.

now retired with precipitation toward Montreal; where the marquis de Vaudreuil, governor-general of Canada, had fixed his head-quarters, and was resolved to make a last stand. For this purpose he called in all his detachments, and collected around him the whole force of the colony.

In the mean time general Amherst was diligently employed in taking measures for the utter subversion of the French power in that part of the New World. He sent instructions to general Murray, directing him to advance by water to Montreal, with all the troops that could be spared from the garrison of Quebec. And colonel Haviland, by like orders, sailed with a detachment from Crown Point, and took possession of Isle-aux-Noix, which he found abandoned by the enemy, and thence proceeded directly for Montreal; while the commander in chief, with his own division, consisting of about ten thousand regulars and provincials, left the frontiers of New York, and advanced to Oswego. There he was joined by a thousand Indians under sir William Johnson.

Amherst embarked on Lake Ontario with his whole army; and after taking the fort of Isle Royale, which in a manner commands the source of the river St. Laurence, he arrived by a tedious and dangerous voyage at Montreal, on the same day that general Murray landed near that place from Quebec. The two generals met with no opposition in disembarking their troops: and by a happy concurrence of circumstances, colonel Haviland, with the detachment under his command, arrived on the following day.

The junction of these three bodies, composed of the flower of the British forces in North America, and the masterly dispositions made by the commanders, convinced Vaudreuil that all resistance would be ineffectual. He therefore demanded a capitulation, which was granted on terms more favourable than he had reason to expect in such circumstances. Montreal, Detroit, Michilimachinac, and all other places possessed by the French

Sept. 8.

within the government of Canada, were surrendered to his Britannic majesty. But it was stipulated that the troops should be transported to Old France; and the Canadians were secured in their property, and in the free exercise of their religion[31].

This was an important conquest, and seemed to complete the great object of the war, the humiliation of the French in North America. But while the arms of Great Britain were carrying terror before them in Canada, the French emissaries, from the province of Louisiana, had exercised their arts of insinuation so successfully among the neighbouring Indians, that the Cherokees, a powerful tribe, had commenced hostilities, toward the close of the last campaign, against the more southern English colonies, plundering, massacring, and scalping the inhabitants of the back settlements. Mr. Lyttelton, governor of South Carolina, repressed their ravages, and obliged them to sue for peace. They engaged to renounce the French interest, but renewed the war. Colonel Montgomery, with a regiment of Highlanders, a party of grenadiers, and a body of provincials, made war upon them after their own manner, and severely chastised them for their breach of faith. But the consummation of vengeance was reserved for colonel Grant, who, in 1761, desolated the whole country of the Cherokees, destroyed fifteen of their towns, and reduced them to the necessity of making the most humble submissions. They accordingly supplicated, and obtained the renewal of their treaties with England, at Charles-Town, with all the marks of a penitent spirit and pacific disposition; while the other savage tribes, over-awed by the fear of a similar visitation, seemed alike quietly disposed. The town of New Orleans, and a few plantations higher on the Missisippi, alone remained to France of all her settlements in North America :—and these were too distant and feeble to molest the English colonies.

31 *Letters* from Amherst and Murray, in the Lond. *Gazette*, Oct. 1760.— Knox's *Campaigns*, ubi sup.

Nor was the success of the British arms less decisive in the East Indies. Encouraged by the taking of Wandewash, and his victory over Lally, colonel Coote resolved to invest Pondicherry, the only settlement of any consequence remaining to the French on the coast of Coromandel. But as the place was too strong, and the garrison too numerous to permit him to indulge a hope of carrying it by assault, or even by regular approaches, with any force that he could then assemble, he blocked it up closely by land and sea, and reduced both the garrison and the inhabitants to the greatest distress for want of provisions.

In the midst of this distress, and when the blockade had been continued for many months, the French were suddenly flattered with a prospect of relief. The English fleet, under admiral Stevens, was driven off the coast by a violent storm, and four ships of the line were lost. But such was the vigour of the officers and seamen, that, before any supplies could be thrown into Pondicherry, it was again blocked up by a stout squadron. The blockade, by land, had already been changed into a regular siege, which was now carried on with redoubled vigour. A breach was made in the ramparts, and the inhabitants offered to capitulate; but, as the commandant paid no attention to their interests, the proposal was disregarded.

Lally, who was at all times a man of violent and turbulent passions, appears to have been disordered in his understanding after his unsuccessful attempt on Madras. Greatly dissatisfied with the state of the French affairs in India, and with the conduct of the troops under his command, he thus expressed himself in the agitations of his disappointment:—" Hell has spewed me into this country of wickedness; and " I wait, like Jonah, for the whale to receive me in its " belly." By his haughty and contemptuous behaviour, and the tyrannical exercise of his authority, under pretence of reforming abuses, he had early rendered himself odious to the governor and council of Pondicherry, and to the officers

of the army, and therefore found his situation extremely disagreeable during the siege. "I would rather go to com-"mand the Caffres," said he, "than remain in this Sodom, "which must sooner or later be destroyed by the English "fire, in default of that from Heaven!" He made, however, a gallant defence.

The place being rendered utterly untenable, was surrendered to colonel Coote, on the 15th of January, 1761. The defenders were made prisoners of war; and a vast quantity of military stores, with a rich booty, fell into the hands of the victors[32].

In consequence of the reduction of Pondicherry, and the subsequent surrender of the small settlement of Mahie on the coast of Malabar, the French power in the East was subverted; and the English became, in a manner, masters of the commerce of the vast peninsula of India, from Cape Comorin to the mouths of the Indus and Ganges, beside the almost exclusive trade of the rich and extensive provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa.

These acquisitions of trade and territory, added to the conquest of Canada and the possession of Senegal, opened to the subjects of Great Britain immense prospects of commercial advantage, as well as of future empire; of uniting the wealth of the southern to that of the northern regions of the earth; the spices and fine fabrics of Asia, with the gums and gold-dust of Africa, to the tar, turpentine, rice, indigo, tobacco, and beaver of North America. Yet were the people of England dissatisfied. They complained of the shameful inactivity of the navy; as nothing, they said, had lately been done by sea. And they affirmed, that the final conquest of Canada was the natural consequence of the success of the preceding campaign; that a powerful armament, which had been detained at Portsmouth during the whole summer, with a view of making a diversion in favour of the Hanoverian

32 *Letter* from colonel Coote, in the Lond. *Gazette*, July 20, 1761.

army, was sufficiently strong to have reduced, in the present distressed circumstances of the inhabitants, not only Martinique, but all the remaining French islands in the West Indies; of more real value to a naval and commercial people than one half of the German empire. The dispute concerning the German war was renewed, and the folly of pursuing it exposed, with all the force of reasoning, and all the keenness of satire.

In the midst of these disputes, to which he was far from being inattentive, George II. died, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and the thirty-fourth of his reign. He was suddenly taken ill, and expired almost instantly. His character is by no means complicated. Violent in his temper, but humane and candid in his disposition, he conciliated the affection, if he failed to command the respect, of those who were most about his person. If his understanding was not very capacious, his judgment was sound; and if he had little of the munificence of a great monarch, he possessed in perfection the œconomy of a prudent prince. Nor did that œconomy, though perhaps too minute for his exalted station, remarkably impair the splendour of his royal dignity, until age rendered state inconvenient to him. His fond attachment to German politics rendered the early part of his reign unpopular. But the bold spirit with which he resented the insults offered to his crown; the readiness with which he changed his ministers, in compliance with the wishes of his people; and the brilliant conquests with which the latter years of his reign were adorned, have endeared his memory to the English nation. Oct. 25.

He was succeeded, in his regal and electoral dominions, by his grandson George III. a young prince of an amiable disposition, and of the most unblemished manners. The first speech of the new king to his parliament excited the highest hopes of a patriotic reign. "Born and educated in "this country, I glory," said he, "in the name of a "Briton!"—But before we enter upon the history of the

reign of this prince, it will be necessary to make a pause, and contemplate the state of Europe at the death of the second George.

LETTER XXXV.

A Survey of the State of Europe, and the Progress of the War in all Quarters of the Globe, from the Accession of George III. to the Peace of Paris, in 1763.

GEORGE III. who succeeded to the crown of Great Britain in the twenty-third year of his age, was universally allowed to be the arbiter of peace and war, as he was beyond dispute the most powerful monarch in Europe. Supplies, indeed, large beyond all political calculation of what the kingdom could raise, had already been granted by his subjects; yet were they still able and willing to give more, in order to complete the humiliation of his and their enemies. It was however hoped by the body of the people, that a change of politics would take place; that the young king, from his known and declared attachment to his native country, would no longer suffer the public treasure to be squandered in pensions to foreign princes, under the name of subsidies, to enable them to fight their own battles, or the blood of the British soldiery to be shed to water the forests and fertilize the plains of Germany. But how much soever the youthful sovereign might disapprove the continental system, he could not immediately adopt new measures, without inflicting a direct censure upon the conduct of his venerable predecessor. Nor could he abruptly desert his German confederates, after the important steps that had been taken in conjunction with them, without impairing the lustre of the British crown, and

bringing into question the faith of the nation. He therefore declared in council, that, as he ascended the throne in the midst of an *expensive* but *just* and *necessary war*, he would endeavour to *prosecute* that war in the manner most likely to bring about an honourable and lasting peace, in *concert* with his *allies*.

This declaration quieted the throbbing hearts of those allies; and the liberal supplies granted by the British parliament for supporting the war during the ensuing campaign (which amounted nearly to nineteen millions sterling), astonished all Europe, and made the courts of Vienna and Versailles sensible of the necessity of proposing terms of peace. The dominions of the house of Austria were much wasted; the king of Prussia was in a better situation than at the opening of the former campaign; the army under prince Ferdinand amounted to eighty thousand men, every way well appointed; the Russians and Swedes seemed weary of a war in which they had acquired neither honour nor advantage; the elector of Saxony was still in as distressed circumstances as ever, and his Polish subjects obstinately refused to interpose in his behalf. France declared her inability to discharge her pecuniary engagements to her allies. Her finances were low; her navy was almost ruined; her affairs in America and the East Indies seemed to be irretrievable; and her West-Indian islands, she was sensible, must surrender to the first English armament that should appear upon their coasts. A congress was accordingly summoned to meet at Augsburg, for settling the disputes among the German powers; while the ministers of France and England were appointed to negotiate at London and Paris, for the adjustment of the differences between the two crowns.

A. D. 1761.

The congress at Augsburg did not take place. But the negotiation between France and England was formally opened, by Mons. Bussy at London, and Mr. Stanley at Paris, and was continued during the whole summer, though

seemingly with little sincerity on either side. Affairs were not yet ripe for a general pacification; and a particular treaty could not be concluded between the crowns, without sacrifices of interest and fidelity, which neither was willing to make. Both were sensible of this; yet both professed a strong desire of putting a stop to the effusion of blood, and both had strong reasons for such professions.

The British minister found such professions necessary, in order to reconcile the minds of the people to the prosecution of the German war, against which they began to revolt. And as he knew he durst not propose to give up the conquests in Africa, America, the East or West Indies, to procure favourable terms for the German allies of his master, he on that side planted the bar of honour, which was to obstruct the progress of the negotiation, and even to break it off; unless their affairs should take a more advantageous turn, and enable him to reconcile the interests of the king of Prussia with the engagements of his Britannic majesty. The French ministers, in like manner, accommodated themselves to their circumstances. While they made the most humiliating concessions, in order to awaken in the neutral powers a jealousy of the encroaching spirit of Great Britain, they insisted on certain stipulations, which they had reason to believe would not be admitted, and artfully attempted to involve the interests of France with those of Spain. But the cause of the failure of this famous negotiation will be best understood by particulars.

The councils of Madrid were now under French influence. The pacific Ferdinand VI. having breathed his last on the 10th of August, 1759, was succeeded on the throne of Spain by his brother Don Carlos, king of Naples and Sicily. On this event, by an article in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, Don Philip should have ascended the throne of the Two Sicilies, and Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, have reverted to the house of Austria, with a proviso of certain grants to the king of Sardinia. But, as Carlos had never acceded to

that treaty, he assigned the crown of the Two Sicilies to his third son Ferdinand, the eldest being judged unfit for government, and the second designed for the Spanish succession. Philip acquiesced in this disposition; and the court of Vienna, through the mediation of France, permitted him to remain in possession of the three duchies, without asserting any claim to those territories. The king of Sardinia was quieted with money.

These good offices on the part of Louis, added to the ties of blood, could not fail to have some effect upon the mind of Charles III., the new king of Spain; and although he had hitherto observed a fair neutrality, and been liberal in his professions of friendship to Great Britain, France did not despair of being able to draw him into her views. She was sensible that he could not behold with indifference the humiliation of the elder branch of the house of Bourbon, or the rapid progress of the British arms in America. The last more especially excited his jealousy. He foresaw, that the Spanish empire in America, if that of France should be annihilated, must in a manner lie at the mercy of England, as no power would remain, in case of a contest between the two crowns, able to hold the balance in the New World. This reasonable jealousy, raised in the course of the negotiation, by the intrigues of the court of Versailles, and blown into a flame by the arrogance of the British minister, induced the Spanish monarch to seek refuge in the Family Compact, so long and so ardently desired by France; an ambitious league, which seemed to threaten the liberties of Europe with extinction.

Before I investigate the principles of this compact, it will be proper to trace the leading steps of the negotiation between France and England, which immediately produced it. The first proposal of the court of Versailles was, "that the two crowns should remain in possession of what they had conquered from each other:" and, as France had assuredly

been the greatest loser, such a proposition from that haughty power appeared, to the more dispassionate part of the British ministry, an instance of extraordinary moderation, if not humility. A better foundation of treaty could not be offered. The great commoner, however, did not treat this proposition with the attention which its apparent fairness deserved.

It had already been intimated by the duke de Choiseul, the French minister, "That the situation in which they "should stand at certain periods, should be the position to "serve as a basis for the treaty that might be concluded "between the two powers." And he proceeded to settle the periods; namely, the first of May in Europe, the first of July in Africa and the West Indies, and the first of September in the East Indies; observing, at the same time, that, as those periods might seem too near or too distant for the interests of Great Britain, the court of Versailles was extremely willing to enter into an explanation on that subject. But Mr. Pitt haughtily declared, that his Britannic majesty would admit no other epoch than that of "the signing of the "peace."

To this blunt and singular declaration the court of Versailles replied, with that coolness and temper which ought to govern all such transactions, "that, if not *those* which were already named, at least *some fixed periods* during the war ought to be agreed upon; as the *uti possidetis*, or mutual retaining of possessions, could not reasonably have reference *only* to the time of *signing* the *peace*." For, if the contrary principle should be admitted, it would become difficult to know, or even to guess at the value of the possessions that might be given away, as it could not be ascertained what might, in the interval, be lost or gained. And if these difficulties occurred, it was added, in the simplicity of a possessory article, they must be increased ten-fold upon every other, and would come to such a height, as to preclude

all possibility of negotiation, on things of so intricate a nature as changes and equivalents [1].

This dispute occasioned delay, and afforded the French ministry, if they had been so disposed, a decent pretext for breaking off the negotiation. In the mean time hostilities were prosecuted in various parts, as if no such negotiation had subsisted. But the campaign was distinguished by few memorable events.

The war which had been carried on so long and so fruitlessly in Westphalia, at an immense expence, was as indecisive as ever. For although prince Ferdinand, by taking the field in February, gained several advantages over the French, who were little fitted for a winter campaign, the duke de Broglio obliged him to abandon all the places he had taken or invested before the first of April; to raise the blockade of Ziegenhayn and the siege of Cassel, to expose anew the landgraviate of Hesse, and retire beyond the Dymel.

Broglio having afterward passed the Dymel, and formed a junction with Soubise, who commanded on the Lower Rhine, attacked the allies at the village of Kirch-Denkern, on the 16th of July; but he was repelled by the energy of his adversaries; and four thousand of his men were killed, or made prisoners [2]. In consequence of this advantage, prince Ferdinand, having extended his army toward Hamelen, was enabled to secure the course of the Weser, and to protect the electorate of Hanover, notwithstanding the superior force of the enemy. But he had the mortification to see them ravage Westphalia and East-Friseland.

The king of Prussia, seemingly fatigued with ineffectual efforts, and mortified by indecisive victories, acted solely on

[1] Account of the Negotiation published by the Court of France, and tacitly admitted by that of England.

[2] Lond. *Gazette*, July 23, 1761.

the defensive; himself taking post in Silesia, and his brother in Saxony. Yet this defensive campaign was not more exempt from misfortune than those in which he most freely indulged the ardor of his genius. The Austrians took Schweidnitz by surprise, and the Russians made themselves masters of Colberg. By the loss of these two important places, the illustrious Frederic found himself in a worse situation than at the close of any former season of action. The Russians wintered in Pomerania, and the Austrians in Silesia.

These events did not altogether correspond with the haughty tone assumed by the English minister, in his negotiation with France. But several actions happened at sea between single ships and small squadrons, greatly to the honour of the British flag. And a naval armament, which had excited the highest hopes while its destination remained unknown, was prepared early in the season, and crowned with signal success.

The object of this armament—consisting of ten ships of the line, under commodore Keppel, and nine thousand soldiers, commanded by major-general Hodgson—was the reduction of Belleisle, near the coast of France, between Port-Louis and the mouth of the Loire. A descent was immediately attempted at different places; but the troops were repulsed with considerable loss, in spite of their most vigorous efforts. They were not however discouraged, but resolutely persevered in their purpose; and a landing was effected on the 22d of April. The invaders drove the French from their lines before Palais, the capital of the island; entered the town sword in hand, and obliged the garrison to take refuge in the citadel. That fortress, built by the famous Vauban, and defended by three thousand men, under the chevalier de St. Croix, an able and experienced officer, made a gallant defence. But after it had been invested about six weeks, and a practicable breach

made in the works, St. Croix, seeing no prospect of relief, judged it prudent to capitulate; and the whole island submitted to his Britannic majesty[3]. June 7.

The taking of Belleisle, which was celebrated with bonfires, illuminations, and every expression of triumph and tumultuous joy, contributed greatly to elate the pride of the English populace, and was no small mortification to France. But the expedition having failed in its ultimate aim, which was to oblige the French to weaken their army in Westphalia, in order to defend their own coasts, and thus to enable prince Ferdinand to strike some decisive blow; and the island itself (which is merely a barren rock) being found to have no harbour for ships of force, the chief circumstance that could make it valuable to Great Britain, the possession of it was thought, by the more intelligent part of the nation, to have been dearly purchased with the lives of two thousand brave men, beside an extraordinary expenditure of naval and military stores. The ministry, however, represented it as a place of great importance, from its position, while they highly and justly extolled the valour of the troops employed in reducing it. Yet, as this conquest had not been attended with the expected consequences, and as no other enterprise was planned from which any important advantage could be expected during the summer, Mr. Pitt condescended to name certain epochs, to which the reciprocal holding of possessions should refer; and the negotiation with France was resumed.

The periods named by the British minister were, the first of August for Europe, the first of September for Africa and America, the first of November for the East Indies. To these epochs France agreed, though reluctantly, on account of the nearness, as she now had hopes of acquiring some important advantage in Westphalia before the close of the campaign. She also agreed, that every thing settled between the two crowns, relative to their particular disputes, should

3 Lond. *Gazette*, April 30, and June 14, 1761.

be finally conclusive and obligatory, independent of the proceedings of the congress to be holden at Augsburg, for deciding the disputes of Germany. And she further agreed, that the definitive treaty of peace between the kingdoms, or preliminary articles to that purpose, should be signed and ratified before the first of the next August.

France even gave up the point of honour, and frankly made an offer of what places she was willing to cede and exchange. In her final answer (after certain difficulties had been removed, and some claims relinquished), she promised to guaranty Canada to England, in the utmost extent required, including as dependencies the islands of Cape Breton and St. John; to demolish Dunkirk, provided the right of fishing and drying fish on the banks of Newfoundland should be confirmed to her; to restore Minorca for Guadaloupe and Mariegalante; to evacuate Hesse, Hanau, and Gottingen, provided one settlement in Africa should be guarantied to her for the convenience of the Negro trade; to remit the settlement of affairs in the East Indies to the companies of the two nations, and to leave England in possession of Belleisle, until some equivalent should be offered and accepted. But she persisted in demanding the restitution of the trading vessels taken before the declaration of war, and obstinately refused to give up Wesel and Gueldres, which she had wrested from the king of Prussia.

England, with no less obstinacy, refused to restore the disputed captures, yet insisted on the restitution of those two places. Nor would the minister, astonishing as it may seem, agree to a neutrality in regard to Germany. He rejected the proposal with disdain as an insult upon the national honour; though it would certainly have been more easy for Great Britain, and no less honourable, to mediate or even purchase a peace for the king of Prussia, in the congress at Augsburg, than to enable him to continue the struggle for Silesia, and defend his various provinces against France, Sweden, Austria, Russia, and the army of the empire.

On this romantic idea, however, and the two other contentious points, the negotiation between France and England was broken off, when it seemed ready to terminate in a solid peace, and after it had been protracted considerably beyond the term fixed for signing the treaty. Sept. 20.

A rupture with Spain, it was readily foreseen, would be the immediate consequence of the failure of this treaty, as the failure itself had been partly occasioned by the suspicions of a secret understanding between the French and Spanish ministers. The poisonous insinuations of the court of Versailles had now produced their full effect upon the mind of Charles III. This had sufficiently appeared in the course of the late negotiation. The French minister, with his memorial of propositions (dated the 15th of July), had presented to the court of London a private memorial, signifying the desire of his most Christian majesty, that, in order to establish the peace upon solid foundations, not to be shaken by the contested interests of a third power, the king of Spain might be invited to guaranty the treaty between the two crowns; and he proposed, with the consent and communication of his catholic majesty, that the three points in dispute between England and Spain, and which might produce a new war in Europe and America, should be finally settled in this negotiation; namely, the restitution of some ships taken in the course of the present war under Spanish colours, the liberty claimed by the Spanish nation to fish on the banks of Newfoundland, and the demolition of certain settlements made, contrary to treaty, by the English logwood-cutters in the bay of Honduras.

The British minister read this memorial with surprise and indignation, and declared on returning it, with that dignity and even haughtiness peculiar to his character, that his Britannic majesty would not suffer the disputes with Spain to be blended, in any manner whatever, in the negotiation of peace between the two crowns; and that it would be con-

sidered as an affront, and a thing incompatible with the sincerity of the negotiation on the part of France, to make any further mention of such a circumstance. He at the same time called upon the Spanish minister, to disavow the proposition which had been said to be made with the knowledge of his court; and expressed his astonishment at seeing a proposal for accommodating disputes between friends coming through the medium of an enemy! to find points of so much consequence offered for deliberation by a French envoy, when his catholic majesty had an ambassador residing in London, from whom no intimation of such business had been received!

The court of Versailles condescended to make an apology for having proposed a discussion of the points in dispute with Spain; but the Spanish ambassador openly avowed and justified the step taken by the French envoy, as entirely conformable to the sentiments of his master. He declared, that the kings of France and Spain were united not only by the ties of blood, but by those of mutual interest. He applauded the humanity and magnanimity of the former prince, in seeking to render the peace as permanent as the vicissitudes of human affairs would permit; and haughtily added, that, if governed by any other principles, his Catholic majesty, consulting only his greatness, would have spoken "from himself and as became his dignity[4]."

The meaning of this declaration could not possibly be misunderstood. It evidently appeared, from the most liberal interpretation of the words, that Spain, as a party, was gratified with a communication of every step taken in the negotiation between France and England; that her judgment was appealed to in the proposition, and her authority called in aid to force the acceptance of the terms offered by France; in a word, that there was a perfect union of affections, in-

[4] *Papers* relative to the Negotiation with France, and the Dispute with Spain, published by Authority.

terests, and counsels, between the courts of Versailles and Madrid.

A firm conviction of this is said to have been the cause of that arrogance, bordering upon insult, with which Mr. Pitt thenceforth treated the proposals of France, and which completed the views of the court of Versailles. The Family Compact was signed on the 15th of August. From that moment, the French minister changed his tone; and the negotiation with England was broken off, as already related, less from any disagreement between the two courts on important points, than their seeming obstinacy in maintaining pretended points of honour.

In the mean time, orders had been sent to the earl of Bristol, the British ambassador at the court of Madrid, to remonstrate with energy and firmness against the daring interposition of Spain in the negotiation between France and England, and to demand a declaration of her final intentions; to put a negative upon the Spanish pretensions to fish upon the banks of Newfoundland; to rest the article of disputed captures on the justice of the English tribunals; to continue the former professions of the court of London, indicating a desire of an amicable adjustment of the logwood dispute, and the willingness of his Britannic majesty to cause the settlements on the coast of Honduras to be evacuated, if his catholic majesty would provide for the continuance of that traffic to which the British subjects had a right by treaty.

Mr. Wall, the Spanish minister, applauded the spirit of the king of Great Britain, in not suffering France to be appealed to, as a tribunal, in his disputes with Spain. In the proposition made, with the consent of his court, he declared that things had not been considered in that light; and he asked, whether it could be imagined in England, that the catholic king was seeking to provoke Great Britain to war in her most flourishing and exalted condition, and after such a series of prosperous events as never perhaps occurred in the annals of any other kingdom. But he refused to give up any

of the three points in dispute, and owned that the most perfect harmony subsisted between the courts of France and Spain; that, in consequence of this harmony, the most Christian king had offered to assist his catholic majesty, if the dispute between Great Britain and Spain should terminate in a rupture; and that the offer was considered in a very friendly light.

A declaration less explicit would have been sufficient to convince a minister of Pitt's discernment, that the intentions of Spain were by no means equivocal. He accordingly declared in council, that we ought to consider the evasions of that court as a refusal of satisfaction, and that refusal as a declaration of war; that we ought from prudence as well as spirit to secure to ourselves the first blow; that, if any war could provide its own resources, it must be a war with Spain; that her supplies lay at a distance, and might be easily intercepted and cut off, as we were already masters of the sea; that her flota, or American plate-fleet, on which she had great dependence, had not yet arrived, and that the taking of it would at once strengthen our hands and disable hers. Such a bold but necessary step, he added, would be a lesson to his catholic majesty, and to all Europe, how dangerous it was to presume to dictate in the affairs of Great Britain.

The transcendent dignity of this sentiment, so far exceeding the comprehension of ordinary minds, appeared in the form of shocking violence, or wild extravagance, to the majority of the council. They admitted, that we ought not to be deterred from the assertion of our reasonable demands, by the menaces of any power; but they affirmed, at the same time, that this desire of adding war to war, and enemy to enemy, whilst the springs of government were already overstrained, was ill-suited to our national strength; that to shun war upon a just occasion was cowardice, but to provoke or court it madness; that if Spain, misled by the counsels of France, should enter in a more decisive manner into the views of that hostile court, it would then be early enough

to declare war, when all the neighbouring and impartial powers were convinced, that we acted with as much temper as resolution, and when every thinking man in the kingdom was satisfied, that he was not hurried into the hazards and expences of war from an idea of romantic heroism, but from unavoidable necessity, and would cheerfully contribute to the support of an administration which, though firm and resolute, was afraid alike to waste the national treasure wantonly or employ it unjustly.

These arguments, though plausible, had no weight with Mr. Pitt. He considered them as the timid counsels of short-sighted caution, or the captious objections of narrow-minded and selfish politicians, envious of his greatness, and indifferent to the welfare of their country. Giving full scope to his pride and patriotism, he warmly exclaimed, "This is the time for humbling the whole house of Bourbon! and if we neglect the glorious opportunity, we shall in vain look for another. Their united power, if suffered to gather strength, will baffle our most vigorous efforts, and possibly plunge us in the gulf of ruin. We must not allow them a moment to breathe: self-preservation bids us crush them, before they can combine or recollect themselves."

Mr. Pitt in the same council rashly declared that if he could not carry so salutary a measure, this would be the last time of his sitting at that board. "I was called to the administration of public affairs," added he haughtily, "by the voice of the people: to them I have always considered myself as accountable for my conduct; and, therefore, cannot remain in a *situation* which makes me *responsible* for *measures* I am *no longer* allowed to *guide*." The sagacious earl Granville, president of the council, coolly replied, "The gentleman, I find, is determined to leave us, and I cannot say I am sorry for it, as he would otherwise have compelled us to leave him; for if he is determined to assume solely the right of advising his majesty, and directing the operations of war, to what purpose are *we* here assembled?" On a division, the

minister himself, and his brother-in-law earl Temple, were the only members of the council who voted for an immediate declaration of war against Spain.

Oct. 5.

Pitt, conformably to his declared resolution, carried the seals of his office to the king; although not without hopes, as is believed, that he would be desired to retain them. But royal favour had, by this time, begun to flow into new channels.

The earl of Bute claimed a large share of that favour. He had been much about the person of George III. before his accession to the throne; and beside the pleasure of having partly formed the mind of the heir apparent to the British crown, he had in so doing the particular satisfaction of discharging a debt of gratitude to the memory of his majesty's father, Frederic prince of Wales, whose friendship and confidence he enjoyed in a high degree, with Mr. Pitt and other reputed patriots. Soon after the death of George II. this nobleman was appointed secretary for the northern department: and he now expected, in consequence of the divisions in the privy council, and the affection of his royal master, to seise the reins of government. The duke of Newcastle, and other ministers of the late king, who had found themselves over-shadowed by the superior abilities of the great commoner, also wished his removal; and as HE, the favourite of the people, had found it necessary to form a coalition with them, and to flatter the political prejudices of his aged sovereign, in order more effectually to serve his country, and gratify his own boundless ambition, THEY, in hopes of recovering their consequence, yielded in like manner a temporary support to the earl of Bute, supposed to be the bosom favourite of the youthful monarch.

The king, therefore, received the seals from Mr. Pitt with ease and dignity. He expressed his regret for the loss of so able a servant, at a time when abilities for public business were so much required; but he did not solicit him to resume his office. Little prepared for a behaviour so firm, yet full

of condescension, the haughty secretary is said to have burst into tears[5]. This was the time for conciliation between the powerful sovereign and his *greatest* subject, if the highest ability to serve the state, although inferior to many in rank and fortune, can entitle a subject to that distinction. But a subject, though a good one, may be too great. The king was willing to abide by the opinion of the majority of his council. He accepted Mr. Pitt's resignation; settled upon him a pension of three thousand pounds a-year, for three lives, and conferred the title of baroness on his lady; for, at that time, he declined the honour of nobility, content that it should descend to his offspring.

No change in the British ministry ever occasioned so much alarm as the resignation of Mr. Pitt. It seemed equal to a revolution in the government. As the nation, under his administration, had been raised from despondency and disgrace to the highest degree of glory, triumph, and exultation, the most serious apprehensions were entertained, by the body of the people, that it might again sink into the same state of depression, and be overwhelmed by its numerous enemies, since his all-inspiring genius no longer directed its councils; or that an inglorious peace would be patched up, to avert the dangers of a new war.

But this alarm was soon quieted by the vigorous measures of the new ministry, and the address with which their emissaries drew off the veil from the imperfections of the late secretary, whose reputation, both as a patriot and a statesman, they endeavoured to destroy. They keenly exposed his inconsistency, and called in question his political sagacity, in so warmly entering into the German contest, against which, in the earlier part of his public career, he had so vehemently and so justly declaimed. They blamed his shameful prodigality, in expending so much of the national treasure in fruitless expeditions to the coast of France, instead of di-

[5] Account of Mr. Pitt's *Resignation*, &c. as published by the two parties.

recting them against the remaining French islands in the West Indies. They reprobated his inexcusable negligence, in not ordering general Amherst to enter Louisiana, which might easily have been conquered, during the last campaign, without sending any additional force to America. And they maintained, with some appearance of reason, that his resignation discovered more pride than patriotism. But when they attempted to ascribe all the success of his measures to mere chance, and to turn into ridicule his most laudable enterprises, the sentiments of the people revolted against the insult offered to their understanding. And all sincere lovers of their country, whatever might be their opinion of his principles, lamented the loss of so able and popular a minister at so dangerous a crisis; while his friends entered zealously into a vindication of his whole conduct, and severely censured the insidious arts of his unworthy colleagues, who had obliged him to quit the helm of state, by thwarting him in his favourite measure, and irritating a temper naturally too hot, and a spirit which they knew could not brook control.

In changing opinion upon further experience and good grounds, they ingeniously observed, there was no inconsistency; that all men are liable to error and mistake; and that whatever might have been Mr. Pitt's original opinion of the policy of engaging in the German war, the proposal of neutrality in regard to that war, made by France in the late negotiation, was an irrefragable proof that she did not think herself a gainer by the continental contest, and consequently justified his pursuing it; that the expeditions to the coast of France, though attended with few immediate and positive advantages, had distracted the councils and the measures of the enemy, at the same time that they roused the spirit of the English nation, and had eventually made us victorious in every quarter of the globe; that this spirit, having borne down all resistance in America and the East Indies, was now to have been directed against the remaining French islands

in the West Indies, a formidable armament being actually ready to sail for those latitudes; and, if Mr. Pitt had been allowed to commence hostilities immediately against Spain, there was the utmost reason to believe, that we should soon have been in possession not only of Martinique, Hispaniola, and Cuba, but of the mines of Mexico and Peru. In reply, the friends of administration affirmed, that, instead of achieving new conquests, he was no longer able to act; that, having exhausted the resources of the kingdom, and drawn upon it new enemies, he had deserted his station at the helm and left the vessel of state to sink or swim amid the storm which he had raised[6].

These disputes, and their anxiously-expected issue, engaged the attention of all Europe. The German allies of Great Britain flattered themselves that the seals would be restored to Mr. Pitt, and expressed their apprehensions of the injury which the common cause might suffer by his resignation; while the Bourbon courts indulged a hope, that his exclusion from the administration would be perpetual, and represented the failure of the late promising negotiation, between France and England, as solely the effect of his arrogance.

The French ministry went yet further. They industriously circulated the news of a secret treaty between France and Spain, into which they had been driven by the domineering temper of the English secretary. By this alarming intelligence, they presumed that they should be able to intimidate the new cabinet of George III. into the adjustment of a pacification upon their own terms, or at least deter that court from declaring war against Spain, until her preparations should be completed, when such a measure would be equally agreeable to the courts of Versailles and Madrid. But they were unacquainted with the character of the men whom they hoped to terrify; so that their vain-glorious

[6] Publications of the Times.

boasting produced an effect directly opposite to that for which it was intended.

The earl of Egremont, who had succeeded Mr. Pitt as secretary for the southern department, sensible of the necessity of behaving with spirit in the dispute with Spain, to secure in any degree the confidence of the people, had already, with the consent of his colleagues, instructed the British ambassador at Madrid to act with firmness, and now ordered him to require an account of the purport of this vaunted treaty. But all the answer which the earl of Bristol could obtain was, "That his Catholic majesty had judged it expedient to "renew his *Family Compact* with the most Christian king." And as the nature of the present, or the existence of any preceding compact, was then unknown to the English ministry, and to all foreign nations, our ambassador was directed to demand a satisfactory explanation on the subject, and to signify, that a refusal would be considered as a declaration of war on the part of Spain. The pride of the Spanish nation was roused, and the minister Wall told the earl, 'that the spirit of haughtiness, which dictated this demand, had even pronounced a declaration of war in attacking the king's dignity!' And it was intimated to him, that he might return to England when, and in what manner, he thought proper.

In consequence of this answer, the earl of Bristol immediately quitted Madrid, and the conde de Fuentes left London. Before his departure, however, the Spanish ambassador delivered to the earl of Egremont a paper in the form of a manifesto, apparently calculated to distract the British councils, by fostering the spirit of faction, already too prevalent in the nation. In that paper, after insisting much on the insolence of the late English minister, and the little delicacy or decorum with which the court of Madrid had been treated since his resignation, he affirmed, that, if the purport of the secret treaty had been desired in a manner less offensive to the dignity of the Catholic king, it might as easily

have been obtained as it could have been justified, as it contained merely a reciprocal guaranty of the dominions of the several branches of the house of Bourbon, with this particular restriction (seemingly thrown in to blind the British ministry), that it should extend only to the dominions which might remain to France after the present war[7].

But the fundamental articles of the treaty will furnish the best answer to that manifesto, and best explain the nature of the Family Compact. By these it was stipulated, that the subjects of the different branches of the house of Bourbon should be admitted to a mutual naturalization, and to a participation of the same privileges and immunities over all their European dominions, as those enjoyed by natural-born subjects in the countries of their particular sovereigns. The direct trade to America formed the only material exception to this remarkable community of interests. Nor was the political union rendered less intimate than the civil.

The kings of France and Spain agreed to look upon every power as their common enemy, which should become the enemy of either; that war declared against the one should be regarded as personal by the other; and that, if both should happen to be engaged in a war against the same enemy or enemies, they would carry it on jointly with their whole force, and observe the most perfect concert in their military operations. And they formally stipulated, that they would not make peace, or even listen to any propositions from their common enemies, but by mutual consent; being resolved, in time of peace as well as of war, "each mutually to consider the interests of the allied crown as its own; to compensate their respective losses and advantages; and to act as if the two monarchies formed only one and the same power." The king of Spain contracted, for the king of the Two Sicilies, the obligations imposed by this treaty; and the three monarchs engaged "to support, on all occasions,

7 Printed Manifesto.

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"the dignity and rights of their royal house, and those of "the princes descended from it[8]."

To the great extent of these political stipulations, there was but one restriction; namely, that Spain should not be bound to succour France, when she might be involved in a war in consequence of her engagements by the treaty of Westphalia, or other alliances with the princes and states of Germany and the North, "unless some *maritime power* "should take part in those wars, or France be attacked by "land in her own country." This exception of the Maritime Powers formed a key to the whole confederacy; as it shewed in the most satisfactory manner against what power that confederacy was chiefly directed. It pointed out clearly, though obliquely, to the other powers of Europe, that their connexion with Great Britain was the principal circumstance which was to provoke the enmity of Spain; and to Great Britain, that her humiliation was the grand object of the Family Compact.

This agreement, which seemed at length to produce that intimate union between the French and Spanish monarchies, so much dreaded at the beginning of the eighteenth century, on the extinction of the Spanish branch of the house of Austria, would of itself have been sufficient, as soon as its true purport was known, to justify Great Britain in declaring war against Spain; a power so closely connected with her principal enemy, that it was almost impossible to distinguish one from the other. And, after the steps that had already been taken, such a measure was now rendered unavoidable. Mutual declarations of war were accordingly issued by the courts of London and Madrid, in the beginning of the year; and great preparations were made by both, for commencing hostilities with vigour and effect.

A. D. 1762.

Never had Great Britain seen herself in so perilous a si-

8 Abstract of the *Family Compact* published by the court of France.

tuation as the present. She was engaged, as a principal, in a war with the whole house of Bourbon; and, as an ally, she had the declining cause of the king of Prussia to support against the house of Austria, the empress of Russia, the king of Sweden, and the Germanic body. Nor was this all. As the strength of her victorious navy gave her a manifest superiority over the fleets of France and Spain, an expedient was devised to engage her in a new land war, that her resources might be exhausted, and her attention diverted from distant conquests or naval enterprises. This expedient was an attack upon the neutral kingdom of Portugal; a great political stroke, which naturally leads us to take a view of the state of that realm.

As Portugal was, in some measure, indebted to England for the recovery of her independence, and the family of Braganza for its full establishment on the throne of that kingdom, the closest friendship subsisted from that time between the two crowns. In consequence of this friendship, founded on mutual interest, England gave a preference in her ports to the wines of Portugal above those of other countries; and obtained, in return for such indulgence, many exclusive privileges in her trade with that kingdom, of which she was considered as the guardian. Envious of those commercial advantages, and sensible that England would not tamely relinquish them, whatever might be the disposition of his most Faithful Majesty, France suggested to Spain the invasion of Portugal, as the most effectual means of distressing their common enemy, if not of extending the dominions of the house of Bourbon.

The conquest of Portugal, indeed, seemed no distant or doubtful event. Sunk in ignorance and indolence, reposing in the protection of England, and fed and adorned with the rich productions of Brasil (where gold and diamonds are found in great abundance, and where the most luxuriant crops of rice and sugar may be raised almost without culture), the Portuguese had relinquished all attention to their internal defence. A long peace had extinguished the mar-

tial spirit among them; and, notwithstanding the increase of their resources, they had suffered their army insensibly to moulder away. That part of it which remained was without discipline and without officers; and the fortresses on the frontiers were in no state of defence.

Nor were these the only circumstances favourable to the views of the house of Bourbon. Before Portugal had recovered from the shock of the earthquake that laid Lisbon in ruins, it experienced a civil convulsion of the most dangerous kind. This was a conspiracy against the life of Joseph, the reigning sovereign, and the fifth king of the house of Braganza. Less superstitious than most of his predecessors, he had banished the Jesuits from his court, because their brethren in Paraguay, where they acted as sovereigns, had opposed the cession of certain territories, which he had exchanged with the king of Spain. He had also spirit and resolution to repress the encroachments of his nobles, and to disconcert the ambitious views of the duke d'Aveiro, supposed to have a design upon the crown.

This nobleman, enraged at his disappointment in a favourite matrimonial alliance, by which he hoped to extend his political influence, entered into intrigues with the heads of the dissatisfied Jesuits; namely, Malagrida, Alexander, and Mathos, formerly confessors to the royal family. They encouraged him in his purpose of destroying the king, and engaged in his conspiracy the Tavora family, one of the most ancient and powerful in the kingdom, also disgusted with the court. The conspiracy failed, at a time when it was so near taking effect, that the king was dangerously wounded, by a shot through the back of his carriage, on the third of September, 1758. He saved his life by returning to his country house, instead of proceeding to the capital, in his way to which he would have been attacked by new assassins[9]. The principal conspirators were seised, and executed in the beginning of the year 1759; and the Je-

[9] *Account* of this *Conspiracy*, published by the court of Lisbon.

suits of all descriptions were banished from the kingdom. But the discontents among the nobility remained. The clergy were not in a better humour. The pope had resented the expulsion of the Jesuits; and the body of the people, enslaved by the most blind superstition, seemed ready to renounce their allegiance to a sovereign who was at enmity with the Holy See.

Such was the state of Portugal, when the Spanish forces marched toward its defenceless frontiers, and the ministers of France and Spain presented to the court of Lisbon a joint memorial (the first fruits of the Family Compact), with a view of persuading his most Faithful Majesty to enter into the alliance of the two crowns, and to co-operate in their scheme for the humiliation of Great Britain. In that memorial, they insisted largely on the tyranny exercised by England over all other powers (especially in maritime affairs), and which the kings of Spain and Portugal were equally commanded by the ties of blood and their common interest to oppose; and they declared, that, as soon as Joseph should have taken his resolution, which they doubted not would prove favourable, their troops were ready to enter Portugal, and garrison the fortresses of that kingdom, in order to avert the danger to which it might otherwise be exposed from the naval force of Great Britain. To this extraordinary memorial, the two ministers added, that they were ordered by their courts to demand a categorical answer in four days, and that any farther deliberation would be considered as a negative.

The situation of the king of Portugal was now critical. If, contrary to the established connexions and supposed interests of his crown, and in violation of the faith of treaties, he should engage in this proffered alliance, he must expect to see his most valuable settlements, Brasil and Goa, fall a prey to his ancient and injured ally, and Lisbon and Oporto, his chief cities, laid in ashes by the thunder of the English arms; and, by admitting garrisons into his principal

places of strength, the avowed condition of his accession to the Bourbon confederacy, he must necessarily expect to be reduced to the abject state of a vassal of Spain. If, on the other hand, he should adhere to his engagements, and resolve to maintain his independence, sixty thousand Spaniards were ready to enter his kingdom, and reduce it to the condition of a conquered province.

His firmness, on this trying occasion, is highly worthy of admiration. In answer to the insulting proposition of the house of Bourbon, he observed, with judgment and temper, that his alliance with England was ancient, and consequently could give no reasonable offence at the present crisis: that it was purely defensive, and therefore innocent in all respects; that the late sufferings of Portugal disabled her, were she even willing, from taking part in an offensive war; into the calamities of which neither the love he bore to his subjects as a father, nor the duty by which he was bound to them as a king, would suffer him to plunge them. The Bourbon courts denied that this alliance was merely defensive, or entirely innocent: and for this astonishing reason—— that the defensive alliance was converted into an offensive one "by the *situation* of the Portuguese dominions and the *nature* of the British power!"—The English fleets, said they, cannot keep the sea in all seasons, or cruise on the coasts best calculated for cutting off the French and Spanish navigation, without the harbours and the friendly assistance of Portugal. "Nor," added they, "could those haughty islanders "insult all the maritime powers of Europe, if the riches "of Portugal did not pass into their hands." And, after endeavouring to awaken the jealousy of his most Faithful Majesty, by representing his kingdom as under the yoke of England, they insultingly told him, that he ought to be thankful for "the NECESSITY which they had imposed upon him to "make *use* of his *reason*, in order to *take* the *road* of his *glory*, and *embrace* the *common interest*[10]!"

[10] Printed *Papers*, published by *authority*.

Although the king was sensible, that the necessity here alluded to was the immediate march of the Spanish army to take possession of his dominions, he was not intimidated from his honorable resolution. The treaties of league and commerce, subsisting between Great Britain and Portugal, were such, he maintained, as the laws of God, of nature, and of nations, had always deemed innocent. And he entreated their most Christian and Catholic majesties to open their eyes to the gross injustice of turning upon Portugal the hostilities kindled against Great Britain, and to consider that they were giving an example which would lead to the utter destruction of mankind; that there would be an end of public safety, if neutral powers were to be attacked, because they had formed defensive alliances with the powers at war; and that, if their troops should invade his dominions, he would therefore, in vindication of his neutrality, endeavour to repel them with all his forces and those of his allies. And he concluded with declaring, that he would rather see the last tile of his palace fall, and his faithful subjects spill the last drop of their blood, than sacrifice the honour or the independence of his crown, and afford the ambitious princes, in his submission, a pretext for invading the sacred rights of neutrality.

In consequence of this magnanimous declaration, the ministers of France and Spain immediately left Lisbon; and their departure was soon followed by a joint denunciation of war against Portugal, in the name of their sovereigns. His Britannic majesty could not view with indifference the danger of his faithful ally, who depended upon him for support; nor could he prudently avoid acting with vigour in his defence. He accordingly sent over to Portugal arms, ammunition, provisions, and eight thousand soldiers.

April 27.

By the exertions of these additional troops, the enterprising valour of the British officers, and the skilful conduct of the count de la Lippe (a German general who had acted with

ability under prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, and now commanded the Portuguese army) the Spaniards, who had passed the mountains in three divisions, taken several places, and confidently hoped soon to become masters of the whole kingdom, found themselves under the necessity of abandoning their conquests, and evacuating Portugal before the close of the campaign[11]. In this service, brigadier Burgoyne, who commanded the British troops, bore a distinguished part.

Nor did the attention of Great Britain to the safety of Portugal diminish her exertions or her success in Westphalia. There the French had resolved to make the most powerful efforts; while the Spaniards, in order to divide our strength, should enter the Portuguese dominions. Their plan of operation was nearly the same as formerly; but they had changed their generals. Broglio had been disgraced, through the intrigues of the prince de Soubise, who now commanded the army on the Weser, in conjunction with the mareschal d'Estrées; and that on the Lower Rhine was committed to the direction of the prince of Condé.

The disposition of the allies was not more varied. The hereditary prince was posted in the bishopric of Munster with a strong detachment, to observe the motions of the prince of Condé; and prince Ferdinand lay behind the Dymel, with the main body, in order to oppose the progress of the grand French army; to prevent it from entering the electorate of Hanover, and, if possible, to recover the territories of the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel.

The first service Ferdinand effectually performed. He obliged the enemy to abandon Gottingen, the only place which they possessed in the dominions of his Britannic majesty, and which they had fortified at great expence. He gained several advantages over them, particularly in the actions at Grabenstein, Homberg, and Melsungen; where

[11] Lond. *Gazette*.

the British troops under the marquis of Granby acquired signal honour[12]. He reduced Cassel, in presence of the three French generals, notwithstanding a defeat which the hereditary prince had suffered from the prince of Condé at Johansberg; and he was preparing to besiege Ziegenhayn, the last Hessian town that remained to the enemy, when he received intelligence of the signature of preliminaries of peace.

While Ferdinand was thus exerting himself in Westphalia, with a degree of spirit which induced his enemies to insinuate, that he had hitherto protracted the war, in order to enjoy its emoluments, the fortune of the king of Prussia wore a variety of appearances, in consequence of certain great and singular revolutions in the affairs of the North.

At the close of the last campaign, we saw the Austrians in possession of Schweidnitz, the key of Silesia, and the Russians masters of Colberg, and wintering in Pomerania; so that the dominions of his Prussian majesty, whose armies were considerably weakened, lay entirely at the mercy of his foes, who were now enabled to begin their operations more early than they had before been accustomed to enter upon the campaign, as well as to sustain them with greater vigour and concert. A complete victory, an event by no means probable, did not seem sufficient to save him from utter ruin; when the tremendous storm, ready to burst upon his head, was happily dissipated, by one of those sudden and extraordinary changes in human affairs, which instantly decide the fate of nations, outstrip all human foresight, and confound the reasonings of the wisest politicians.

The Russian empress Elizabeth, having died in the beginning of the year, was succeeded by her nephew, the duke of Holstein, under the name of Peter III. As they who were most intimately acquainted with the sentiments of the new czar could only conjecture, whether he would pursue

12 Lond. *Gazette*, June 28, et seq.

or abandon the political system of his predecessor, the eyes of all Europe were anxiously turned toward the court of Petersburg, to observe the direction of his early councils. He began his reign with regulating, on the most generous principles, his interior government. He freed the nobility and gentry from all slavish vassalage, and put them on a footing with those of the same rank in other European countries. He abolished the private chancery, a kind of state-inquisition: he recalled many unhappy exiles from Siberia; and extending his benign policy to his subjects of all conditions, he diminished the taxes upon some of the necessaries of life, to the great relief of the poor[13].

The same mild spirit, which dictated the civil regulations of this prince, seemed to extend itself to his foreign politics. He ordered a memorial to be delivered (in February) to the ministers of his allies, in which he declared, that, in order to procure the re-establishment of peace, he was ready to sacrifice all the conquests made by the arms of Russia during the war, in hopes, "that the allied courts would also prefer the restoration of peace and tranquillity to the *advantages* which they might *expect* from the *continuance* of hostilities—but which they could not obtain, unless by a *continuation* of the *effusion* of *human blood*[14]!"

This declaration, however, was not dictated solely by motives of humanity. Beside an extravagant admiration of the character of the king of Prussia, Peter was ambitious of recovering from Denmark the duchy of Sleswick, to which he had pretensions as duke of Holstein. He therefore ordered a cessation of arms, on receiving an unsatisfactory answer to his memorial from the courts of Vienna and Versailles; and he entered, soon after, into an alliance with the illustrious Frederic, without stipulating any thing in favour of his former confederates. He even joined part of his

13 *Regulations* published by the court of Petersburg.

14 Printed *Memorial*.

forces to those of his new ally, for the purpose of driving the Austrians out of Silesia, while he commanded another army to march toward Holstein. Sweden followed the example of Russia in concluding a peace with the court of Berlin.

The king of Prussia did not fail to profit by this great revolution in his favour. As that load of power which had so long oppressed him, and against which he had borne up with such unexampled fortitude, was now much lightened, he was again at liberty to indulge the ardor of his genius, and to act with vigour against his remaining enemies. His first aim was the recovery of Schweidnitz, the next the expulsion of the Austrians out of Silesia; and, in the attainment of these objects, he was greatly assisted by the valour and military skill of his brother, who gained the important battle of Freyberg. Even before he obtained this victory, the prince was so far master of Saxony, that the Austrians found it necessary to withdraw a body of troops from their armies in Silesia, in order to prevent him from making irruptions into the heart of Bohemia. Daun, however, with a large army, still occupied some eminences in the neighbourhood of Schweidnitz, by which he was enabled to protect that town. The king resolved to force him to abandon those posts: and he succeeded; not indeed by a direct attack, which he found to be impracticable, but by a series of masterly movements, which made the cautious Daun apprehensive that his principal magazine might be seised, and even his communication with Bohemia cut off. He accordingly fell back to the frontiers of Silesia, and left Schweidnitz uncovered [15].

His Prussian majesty immediately prepared to invest that place with a numerous army. In the mean time, different bodies of his troops, some on the side of Saxony, others on that of Silesia, penetrated into Bohemia; laid many parts of the country under contribution, and spread general alarm.

15 Prussian and Austrian Accounts compared.

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A body of Russian irregulars also made an irruption into Bohemia, and retaliated on the Austrians those cruel ravages, which, at the instigation of the court of Vienna, the same barbarous enemy had formerly committed on the Prussian dominions.

But the gallant Frederic, while he was conducting, with spirit and ability, that bold line of operations which unexpected circumstances had enabled him to form, was threatened with a sudden reverse of fortune, in consequence of a new revolution in Russia. Peter III., in his rage for innovation, made more new regulations in a few weeks than a prudent prince would have hazarded in a long reign. His first measures, as we have seen, were truly laudable, and seemed well calculated to procure him the affections of his people; but, being of a rash and irregular turn of mind, he in many instances shocked their prejudices, even while he consulted their interests. He disgusted both the army and the church, the two chief pillars of absolute sway; the former, by the manifest preference which he gave to his Holstein guards, and to all officers of that country; the latter, by his contempt of the Greek communion (having been bred a Lutheran) and by some innovations in regard to images; but more especially by an attempt to moderate the revenues of the clergy, and an order that they should no longer be "distinguished by *beards*."

These were high causes of discontent, and threatened the throne with all the violence of civil war. But Peter's misfortunes immediately arose from a matrimonial feud—from the bosom of his own family. He had long slighted his consort, Catharine, of the house of Anhalt Zerbst (a woman of a masculine disposition and sound understanding, by whose counsels he might have profited), and now openly lived with the countess of Woronzoff, niece to the chancellor of that name. To this lady he seemed devoted with so strong a passion, that it was generally believed he entertained thoughts of confining the empress in a convent, and of raising the

countess to the partnership of his throne. The dissatisfied part of the nobility, clergy, and chief officers of the army, taking advantage of that domestic dissension, assembled in the absence of the czar, formally deposed him, and invested Catharine with the imperial ensigns. June 28, O. S.

The new empress marched at the head of the malcontents in quest of her husband. Peter was solacing himself with his mistress at one of his houses of pleasure, and expressed the utmost surprise at being informed that he had lost his crown. When convinced of the fatal truth, he attempted to escape to Holstein, but was seised and thrown into prison, where he expired a few days after, of what was called an *hæmorrhoidal colic*, to which he was said to have been subject [16]. His death, from the steps which had preceded it, occasioned no speculation. It was, indeed, an event universally expected. Princes dethroned by their subjects are seldom allowed to languish long in the gloom of a dungeon. The jealousy of the successor, or the fears of some principal conspirator, commonly make few their moments of trouble.

Catharine II. began her reign with flattering prejudices. Though a foreigner herself, she wisely dismissed all foreigners from her service and confidence. She sent away the Holstein guards, and chose Russians in their stead: she restored to the clergy their revenues, and, what was of no less importance, the privilege of wearing beards. She conferred all the great offices of state on Russians, and threw herself wholly on the affections of that people to whom she owed her elevation.

The wisdom of this policy was not disputed. But it was feared by one part of Europe, and hoped by another, that Catharine would also introduce a total change of system with regard to foreign affairs; for the peace and alliance with the

[16] *Manifesto* of Catharine II. on her exaltation to the throne of Russia, as independent sovereign, &c.

king of Prussia were very unpopular measures in Russia. Every thing, in a word, seemed to threaten Frederic with a renewal of his former difficulties and distresses.

Fortunately, however, for that heroic monarch, the new empress, independent of personal regard, did not think her situation sufficiently secure to engage in foreign hostilities. She therefore declared to the Prussian minister at her court, "that she would observe inviolably the peace concluded "under the preceding reign, but had thought proper to "order back to Russia, by the nearest roads, all her troops "in Silesia, Prussia, and Pomerania." And although this change, from a strict alliance to a mere neutrality, made no small difference in the state of the king's affairs, yet it must be regarded, all things considered, as an escape scarcely less wonderful than the former; especially as all the important places which the Russians had with so much bloodshed acquired were faithfully restored to that prince.

Frederic, instead of being discouraged by the order sent for the return of the Russians, acted only with greater vigour. He attacked Daun the day after it arrived, but before the news had reached the Austrian camp, and drove him, by terror no less than by force of arms, from the heights of Buckersdorff, with considerable loss. He then invested Schweidnitz, and obliged that much-contested town, though defended by a garrison of nine thousand men, to surrender, after a siege of two months, in spite of the utmost efforts of Laudohn and Daun to obstruct his operations [17].

No sooner did the warlike king find himself master of Schweidnitz, and eventually of all Silesia, than he began to turn his eye toward Saxony. He reinforced his brother's army in that electorate, and made preparations which seemed to indicate a design of laying siege to Dresden.

These preparations, and the victory obtained near Frey-

17 Berlin *Gazette*, Oct. 15, 1762.

berg, induced the court of Vienna to conclude a cessation of hostilities with his Prussian majesty, for Saxony and Silesia. In consequence of this impolitic and partial truce, which provided neither for the safety of the dominions of the house of Austria, nor of those members of the empire that were attached to its interests, one body of the Prussian army broke into Bohemia; advanced nearly to the gates of Prague, and destroyed a valuable magazine; while another fell upon the same country in a different quarter, and laid the greater part of the town of Egra in ashes, by a shower of bombs and red-hot bullets[18]. Some parties penetrated into the heart of Franconia, and even as far as Suabia; ravaging the country, exacting heavy contributions, and spreading ruin and dismay on every side. Many of the princes and states found themselves obliged to sign a neutrality, in order to save their territories from further ravages; and most others were so disabled by the late defeat in Saxony, or exhausted by the subsequent incursions, that no prospect remained of their being able to furnish, for the next campaign, any army under the Imperial name and authority. The war, therefore, was seemingly left to be finished as it had been begun, by the single arms of Prussia and Austria.

During these transactions in Germany, so favourable to the allies of his Britannic majesty, the British arms were not inactive. The spirit with which Mr. Pitt had carried on the French war, and the obligation, under which the new ministers found themselves, of declaring war against Spain, rendered them sensible of the necessity of shewing the people, and convincing their enemies, that neither the vigour of the nation, nor the wisdom of its councils, depended upon a single man. They accordingly made greater and more successful efforts than any under his administration, though the supplies fell short of those of the preceding year by one million. Without weakening the army in Westphalia, we

[18] Austrian and Prussian Accounts compared.

have already seen them undertake the defence of Portugal, and defend it effectually. In like manner, without evacuating Belle-isle, or abandoning our conquests on the continent of America, they drew troops from both; and, in pursuance of that line of policy which they had always recommended, sent out powerful armaments for the reduction of the French and Spanish islands in the West Indies.

An armament which had been prepared under the administration of Mr. Pitt was destined against Martinique, the largest and best-fortified of the French Windward Islands. It was composed of nine thousand soldiers, headed by general Monckton, and eighteen ships of the line, beside frigates, fire-ships, and bomb-ketches, under the direction of rear-admiral Rodney. The troops were disembarked, without the loss of a man, in the neighbourhood of Fort Royal, the strongest place in the island; and by gaining, with incredible fortitude, possession of some eminences, named Tortenson and Garnier, by which it was commanded (and which were then ill fortified, but gallantly defended), the invaders soon made the governor sensible of the necessity of surrendering the citadel, in order to save the town from being laid in ashes [19].

On the reduction of Fort Royal (which capitulated on the fourth of February) M. de la Touche, the governor-general, retired to St. Pierre, a large and populous town on the same side of the island. He there seemed determined to make a last stand; but, through the earnest solicitations of the inhabitants, anxious for the preservation of their property, and envious of the prosperity which the planters of Guadaloupe enjoyed under the English government, he was prevailed upon to submit, and obtained terms of capitulation for the whole island, before the place was invested. With Martinique fell Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and every other place belonging to France, or occupied by Frenchmen,

[19] Lond. *Gazette*, March 21, 1762.

though reputed neutral, in the extensive chain of the Caribbee Islands.

Before the success of this expedition was known in England, another armament was ready to sail. Its object was the Havannah, the principal sea-port in the island of Cuba, the key of the gulf of Mexico, and the centre of the Spanish trade and navigation in the New World. The conception of the enterprise was great, as it struck immediately at the very basis of the enemy's power: and the armament was equal to its object. It consisted of nineteen ships of the line, eighteen frigates and sloops, and about one hundred and fifty transports, with ten thousand soldiers on board, who were to be joined by four thousand men from North America. The command of the fleet was entrusted to admiral Pococke, whom we have seen distinguish himself in the East Indies. The land-forces were under the direction of the earl of Albemarle. And the whole armament, which assembled off the north-west point of Hispaniola, and was conducted for the sake of expedition (with uncommon seamanship) through the old channel of Bahama, arrived, on the sixth of June, in sight of those dreadful fortifications that were to be stormed.

The Havannah stands near the end of a small bay, which forms one of the most secure and capacious harbours in the world. The entrance into this harbour is by a narrow channel, strongly fortified on each side. The mouthof that channel, when visited by the English fleet under Pococke, was defended by two strong forts; on the east side, by one named the Moro, and on the west, by another called the Puntal. The Moro had towards the sea two bastions, and on the land-side two others, with a wide and deep ditch cut out of the rock. The Puntal, also surrounded by a ditch, cut in the same manner, was provided with casemates, and every way well calculated for co-operating with the Moro in defence of the harbour. It had likewise some batteries that opened upon the country, and flanked part of the town wall.

That wall, which was not in the best repair, twenty-one bastions not in a much better state, a dry ditch of no considerable width, and a covered way almost in ruins, formed the only defence of the city itself. It has therefore been thought, by some military men, that the operations ought to have commenced with the attack of the town by land; especially as it was impracticable to attack it by sea, the entrance of the harbour being not only defended by the forts, but by fourteen ships of the line; three of which were afterward sunk in the channel, and a boom laid across it.

But the earl of Albemarle thought otherwise, either from his ignorance of the state of the fortifications, or from seeing objects in a different light. The troops were therefore no sooner landed, and a body of the enemy that attempted to oppose their progress dispersed, than he began to form the siege of the Moro, which he deemed (perhaps justly) the grand object of the armament, as the reduction of it must infallibly be followed by the surrender of the city; whereas, if he had attacked the town first, his army might have been so weakened as to be unable to surmount the vigorous resistance of the fort, defended not only by the garrison, but by the flower of the inhabitants, zealous to save their own and the public treasure. A post was accordingly seized upon the higher ground, and batteries were erected, though with extreme difficulty. The earth was so thin on the face of the hill, that the troops could not easily cover their approaches; and it being necessary that the cannon and carriages should be dragged by the soldiers and sailors, up a bold declivity, from a rough and rocky shore, many of the men, in that painful labour, while parched with thirst beneath a burning sun, dropped down dead. At length every obstacle was surmounted. The batteries, disposed along a ridge on a level with the Moro, were opened with effect. The garrison had been repulsed, with great slaughter, in an attempt to destroy them; and the besiegers flattered themselves with the hope of a speedy period to their toils, when

their principal battery took fire, and a work, which had employed six hundred men for sixteen days, was consumed in a few hours.

This accident was peculiarly discouraging, as it happened at a crisis when the hardships of the siege, and the diseases of the climate, had rendered two-thirds of the English army unfit for service. The seamen were not in a much better condition. Yet both soldiers and sailors, animated by that active and persevering courage which so remarkably distinguishes the natives of Great Britain, applied themselves with vigour to the reparation of damages. Unfortunately, another battery took fire. The besiegers, however, impelled by every motive of glory, interest, and ambition, continued their efforts with unabated ardor. At length, after conquering numerous difficulties, they gained possession of the covered way. They made a lodgement before the right bastion; and a mine being sprung, which threw down part of the works into the ditch, a breach was observed. Though small, the soldiers were ordered to storm it.

The attempt seemed desperate, as the Spanish garrison was still strong: and the brave defence it had made allowed the besiegers no room to doubt of the vigilance, valour, and resolution of the commanders. But danger itself was only a stimulus to men who had so near a prospect of terminating their dreadful toils. They accordingly prepared for the assault with the utmost alacrity; and mounting the breach under the command of lieutenant Forbes, supported by lieutenant-colonel Stuart, entered the fort with so much order and intrepidity, as entirely disconcerted the garrison. Four hundred of the Spaniards were cut in pieces, or perished in attempting to make their escape by water to the city: the rest threw down their arms, and received quarter. The marquis Gonzalez, the second in command, was killed in bravely endeavouring to stop the flight of his countrymen; and Velasco, the governor, having collected a small body of resolute soldiers in an entrench-

July 30.

ment around the flag-staff, gloriously fell in defending the ensign of Spain, which no entreaties could induce him to strike.

No sooner did the Spaniards in the town and the Puntal see the besiegers in possession of the Moro, than they directed all their fire against that place. Meanwhile the British troops, encouraged by their success, were vigorously employed in remounting the guns of the fort, and in erecting batteries upon an eminence that commanded the city. When this service was completed, the earl, willing to prevent an unnecessary carnage, sent his aide-de-camp with a flag of truce, to summon the governor to surrender, as unavoidable destruction would otherwise fall upon the place. The haughty Spaniard replied, that he was under no uneasy apprehensions, and would hold out to extremity.

Aug. 10.

The next morning, however, the batteries were opened with such effect, that flags of truce appeared in every quarter of the city about noon, and a deputy was sent to the camp of the besiegers, to settle the terms of capitulation. A cessation of hostilities immediately took place; and, as soon as the terms were adjusted, the Havannah, and a district of one hundred and eighty miles to the westward, included in its government—the Puntal, and the ships in the harbour—were surrendered to his Britannic majesty[20]. Without violating the articles of capitulation, which secured to the inhabitants their private property, the conquerors found a booty computed at near two millions sterling, in silver and valuable merchandise belonging to the Catholic king, beside an immense quantity of arms, artillery, and military stores.

This single blow, the greatest perhaps ever struck by any nation, tended to subvert the power of the Bourbon princes, by cutting off their resources. The marine of France was already ruined: her finances were low. Spain, with her

[20] *Letters* from the earl of Albemarle and Sir George Pocock, in *Lond. Gazette*, Sept. 30, 1762;——and the chief Engineer's *Account* of the *Siege*.

principal fortress in the West Indies, had lost a large fleet. And the conquest of the Havannah not only gave to England the absolute command of the gulf of Mexico, but promised to put her in possession of the whole American Archipelago.

The navy of Great Britain was superior to that of all the other powers of Europe combined. She had the means of supporting it in her immense commerce, which increased with her fleets: and both might almost be said to embrace the universe. For her conquests, during this season of glory, were not confined to the West Indies. The south of Asia also beheld her triumphs.

While the British forces were engaged in the siege of the Havannah, an armament sailed from Madras, under the direction of rear-admiral Cornish and brigadier Draper, for the Philippine Islands. The chief object of this enterprise was the reduction of the city of Manilla, the capital of the island of Luçonia; the seat of the Spanish government in those islands, and the centre of communication between South America and the East Indies.

The hostile fleet arrived in the bay of Manilla before the governor had the least intimation of its approach, and even before he was informed of the war with England. Sept. 23. He prepared, however, for a vigorous defence, and rejected with disdain the repeated summons of the British commanders. Necessary steps were consequently taken for landing the troops, consisting of two thousand and three hundred men. The debarkation was safely effected; an important post was seized, and batteries were formed. But the operations of the besiegers were much retarded by incessant and heavy falls of rain, accompanied with a dreadful tempest, which prevented the fleet from co-operating with the army; and also by the unremitted attacks of the native Indians, a brave and hardy people, who rushed up to the muzzles of the British musquets, in their wild ferocity, and

even gnawed the bayonets with their teeth, when mortally wounded[21].

Meanwhile the invaders, in spite of every obstacle, advanced toward the accomplishment of their enterprise. They had silenced the enemy's principal battery, and greatly damaged the fortifications toward the sea; when, as a last effort to raise the siege, a desperate sally was pushed by a large body of Spaniards and Indians. Both however were repelled, after a sharp conflict. A practicable breach at length appeared in the works, and preparations were made for storming it.

In such circumstances, it might naturally have been expected that the governor, instead of remaining obstinate, would have offered to capitulate, in order to save the lives and property of the inhabitants. But no proposal of that kind was presented. General Draper therefore took the most effectual measures for carrying the place by assault. The troops having filed off from their quarters in small bodies about four o'clock in the morning, advanced

Oct. 6.

to the breach at the signal of a general discharge of artillery and mortars, and under cover of a thick smoke, which was blown full upon the town. Lieutenant Russel led the way, at the head of sixty volunteers (from the different bodies of which the army was composed), supported by the grenadiers of Draper's regiment. Colonel Monson and major More followed with two other divisions: next came a battalion of seamen; and the troops of the India company closed the rear.

The assailants behaved with great intrepidity. The Spaniards were soon driven from their works, and the place was entered with little loss. The governor, who had taken refuge in the citadel, surrendered at discretion, but solicited protection for the citizens; and the humanity and generosity

[21] Draper's *Journal* of the *Siege* of *Manilla*, in London *Gazette*, April 19, 1763.

of the British commanders saved the town from a general and justly-merited pillage. A ransom of four millions of dollars was only demanded for this relaxation of the laws of war. But it was stipulated, at the same time, that the other fortified places in Luçonia, and in the islands dependent on its government, should also be surrendered to his Britannic majesty. Thus the whole range of the Philippines fell with the city of Manilla.

The British empire had now acquired an extent that astonished the world. Victorious by land and by sea, in both hemispheres and in every quarter of the globe, it seemed only necessary for England to determine what share of her conquests she should retain, and what terms she would impose upon the house of Bourbon; the king of Prussia being now in a condition to make terms for himself, or continue the war without further subsidies, and the king of Portugal having little to apprehend from Spain in her present state of weakness. It was therefore fondly hoped by the patriotic part of the English nation, that the glorious opportunity of finally humbling this haughty family, which had been so shamefully neglected and lost, through the prevalence of Tory counsels at the peace of Utrecht, was at last completely recovered; and that the Family Compact, lately so alarming to Great Britain, would terminate in the confusion of her ambitious enemies.

In the midst of our splendid conquests however, to the surprise of all Europe, and the indignant astonishment of every honest Englishman, a negotiation with the Bourbon courts had been agreed to by the ministers of his Britannic majesty. And before the event of the expedition against Manilla was known, preliminaries of a treaty of peace were signed at Fontainbleau; which have generally been considered as inadequate to the advantages obtained by the British arms during the war, and which could certainly contribute little to the depression of France or

Nov. 3.

Spain. The cause of a measure so extraordinary deserves to be traced to its source.

George III., as soon as he ascended the throne, had resolved, if possible, to abolish those odious party distinctions which had so long divided the kingdom, and to extend the royal favour and confidence equally to the whole body of his subjects. This policy, as time has too fully proved, was more liberal than wise; for although the Whigs, who engrossed all the great offices of state during the two preceding reigns, had lost much of their popularity by promoting the influence of the crown, they were still esteemed the true friends of freedom, and the natural supporters of the family of Hanover on the throne of these realms. By them chiefly the Revolution had been effected, and the protestant succession established.

The Tories indeed, by assuming the character of patriots, had frequently been able, as we have seen, to maintain a formidable opposition. But that opposition was considered, by the more moderate and intelligent Whigs, as no more than sufficient to keep alive the spirit of liberty, and preserve the balance of the constitution. The first, and also the second George, therefore, always disregarded the arguments of those courtiers, who endeavoured to prove, that they would more firmly establish their sway, by admitting the Tories to an equal share in the administration. They reposed all their confidence in the Whigs. Even the shock of two rebellions, ascribed by many to this narrow policy, did not induce those princes to make any alteration in their plan.

Mr. Pitt had originally associated himself with the supposed Tory patriots, and first acquired distinction by opposing the corrupt system of Sir Robert Walpole, the declared head of the Whigs. After the resignation of that minister, he occasionally temporised (though he seems always to have had an eye to the true interests of Great Britain) and was

sometimes reputed a Whig and sometimes a Tory. But, during his own administration, he scorned all party distinctions; and the very names of Whig and Tory seemed to be lost in the blaze of his popularity. Reposing on the affections of his country, the strength and the resources of which he better understood than any other man, he employed men of all parties, and found all alike faithful. He raised whole regiments of Highlanders from among the disaffected clans, and even gave the command of some of them to officers who had served under the pretender. Their behaviour justified his confidence. They carried victory wherever they appeared, and began to be reckoned among the most loyal subjects of his majesty.

This great man would soon have done away all local and party distinctions; and, while assisted by so able a minister, the resolution of the young king to lend his countenance to the abolition of such distinctions, as a prelude to a more liberal system of policy, was alike generous and prudent. But, on the resignation of the great secretary, the duke of Newcastle, first commissioner of the treasury, who had long been considered as the head of the Whigs, endeavoured to revive those factious distinctions, in order to ruin the credit of his rival in power, John earl of Bute, a nobleman of worth and probity, as well as learning and talents, but of a dry humour and reserved temper; and who, unhappily for the quiet of the nation, beside being little acquainted with public business, was a reputed Tory, a Scotchman, and a Stuart!

The public clamour was accordingly loud against the *favourite*. But as the duke's faculties, which had never been strong, were now much decayed, and his rival possessed the royal ear, he saw his influence in the cabinet daily decline, notwithstanding his great parliamentary interest, his high office, and his importance as the leader of the most powerful party in the kingdom. He therefore found it expedient to

resign; and the earl, in consequence of that resignation, was placed at the head of the treasury.

Many of the duke's friends, persons of rank and eminence, had resigned with him. And the new minister, in order to preserve his situation, judged it prudent to deprive others of their employments, and to fill their places with men attached to his person; among whom, especially in the inferior departments, were too many of his own countrymen. He also thought it sound policy, in conformity with the system of comprehension that had been embraced, to attempt a coalition with the great body of the Tories, or country gentlemen of ancient families, who had uniformly opposed the court during the two preceding reigns, and who were able to yield him effectual support. They readily came into his measures.

The popular clamour, however, continued; and although the friends of Mr. Pitt did not form an actual junction with those of the duke of Newcastle, both parties were alike hostile to the minister. To these parties belonged the whole commercial and moneyed interest. The earl of Bute was, therefore, soon made sensible of the necessity of resigning, or of procuring peace to Europe; as he must expect to encounter innumerable difficulties, in attempting to raise the supplies necessary for the prosecution of the war. From motives of patriotism, as he declared, he chose the latter alternative; and so far as his judgment was swayed by an antipathy to the continental system, he deserves pardon, if not praise. But the great body of the people of England, though not insensible of their burthens, or of the degree of their annual increase, have not yet forgiven him for checking the career of their conquests. They had nothing to fear, and every thing to hope, from a continuance of hostilities.

Fortunately for the British minister, if not for the kingdom, all things were favourable to his views among the hostile powers on the continent. Disappointed in her hopes

of immediate advantage from the Family Compact, the invasion of Portugal, and the resignation of Mr. Pitt, France was now sincerely disposed to peace. Spain, having suffered beyond example during her short concern in the war, and labouring under the most dreadful apprehensions of future misfortunes, keenly repented of the step she had taken, and wished to recede. Both courts, therefore, observed with pleasure the progress of the popular discontents in England; and France, in order to profit by them, and recover in the cabinet what she had lost in the field, intimated, through the medium of the king of Sardinia, a desire of negotiating.

The proposal was cordially embraced by the British ministry. And the duke of Bedford was sent to treat at Paris, while the duke de Nivernois came to London for the same purpose. The negotiation, which was built upon that begun by Mr. Pitt (with too little attention, on the part of Great Britain, to the fortunate change of circumstances in her favour) was soon finished, as no new demand of any consequence was made, and both parties now agreed to withdraw themselves wholly from the German war, and make restitution of all the places they had taken on the European continent. And the preliminary articles, including the interests of both France and Spain, were signed, as already observed, in the beginning of November.

By those articles it was stipulated, that France should cede, to Great Britain, Canada in its utmost extent, with the islands of St. John and Cape Breton, and all that part of Louisiana which lies on this side of the Missisippi, except the town of New Orleans and its territory: that the French should be permitted to fish on the banks of Newfoundland, under certain limitations; and that the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon should be ceded to them for the benefit of their fishery, but without the liberty of erecting forts on those islands: that Spain should relinquish her claim to fish on the banks of Newfoundland, permit the English logwood-

cutters to build houses near the bay of Honduras, evacuate whatever places she had taken from Portugal, and cede Florida, in return for the restitution of the Havannah: that Minorca should be restored to Great Britain, and Martinique, Guadaloupe, Goree, and Belle-isle, to France: that France should cede to Great Britain the forts and factories she had lost on the river Senegal, the island of Grenada and the Grenadines, and give up all claim to the neutral islands of St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago. But St. Lucia, the most valuable of the neutral islands, was delivered in full right to France; and the treaty put the French India company in the same situation as after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, by the restitution of Pondicherry and other places, with the single exception of erecting no forts in the province of Bengal. In return for so many indulgences, France agreed to destroy the harbour and demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk.

These preliminaries were approved, contrary to all expectation, by a majority of the British parliament; and the definitive treaty was signed at Paris early in the following year. About the same time was signed, at Hubertsburg, a treaty of peace between the empress-queen and the king of Prussia; by which it was provided, that a mutual restitution of conquests and oblivion of injuries should take place, and that both parties should be put in the same situation as at the commencement of hostilities.

Feb. 10, 1763.

Thus, my dear Philip, was terminated, fortunately for the general happiness of mankind, but prematurely for the grandeur of Great Britain, and without a due attention to her interests, the most active, splendid, and extensive war that ever divided the human race; the most bloody between disciplined armies, and the most general in Europe, since that which was closed by the PEACE OF WESTPHALIA.

POSTSCRIPT.

BESIDE the general dissatisfaction in England, occasioned by the premature termination of hostilities, and the restitution of so many conquests without adequate cessions, it was strongly urged by some popular writers, that the British ministry had committed a still more dangerous error, at the peace of Paris, in the choice of the conquests they had thought proper to retain. "Martinique and Guadaloupe," said those writers, "would have been found more profitable "possessions than Canada and its dependencies. Their "produce would not only have augmented the royal reve- "nue, while it increased our shipping, but have given us the "command of the sugar-trade of Europe. France ought to "have been compelled to make her sacrifices in the West "Indies." It must, however, be owned, that, as the war originated in North America from a dispute between the French and English colonies concerning their boundaries, its grand object on our part, the securing of our American colonies against future encroachments, seemed to be attained at the peace, in the cession of Canada and Louisiana to Great Britain. Further provision was made for the security of the English settlements in North America, as well as for their extension, in the cession of Florida by Spain. But that security, it was insinuated by some keen-sighted politicians, would prove the source of new evils. It would embolden our old colonies to shake off the control of the mother-country, since they no longer stood in need of her protection, and to erect themselves into independent states. This insinuation, however, was at that time generally considered as illiberal and unjust. And the humanity and generosity of the people, amid the violent discontents provoked by the treaty of peace, found no small consolation in reflecting, that their American brethren would thenceforth be happily exempted

from the annoyance of any European enemy, and able to keep the natives in awe.

Nor was this their only consolation. The magnitude of the British empire in North America, and the prospect of its growth in population and improvement, afforded a wide sweep for the projects of political ambition, and a boundless field for the speculations of commercial avidity. The undivided sovereignty of that vast continent, with the enjoyment of its exclusive trade, seemed to open to the citizens of Great Britain such sources of industry, and channels of naval greatness, as had never fallen to the lot of any other people; and which the immensity of her conquests, and their towering hopes of further acquisitions, with an ardent desire of finally humbling the house of Bourbon, only could have made them consider as beneath her haughtiest wish.

These consolatory reflections are offered merely from a love of truth, not suggested by a desire of palliating the justly-execrated peace of Paris; a measure that must eternally rouse the keenest emotions of indignation in the mind of every honest and enlightened Englishman. No human consideration should have induced the British ministry to give up Cuba, or to stop short of the reduction of Hispaniola; while our naval force enabled us to protect the one, and to subdue the other; as each promised a prodigious augmentation of that force, and also of the means of supporting it. We ought not to have left the French or Spaniards in possession of a single island in the West Indies. With the exception of some unimportant isles, Hispaniola and Porto Rico alone remained to them.

An armament planned in the East Indies, and fitted out in the port of Manilla, would have enabled us to become masters of the rich but defenceless kingdom of Peru; and by holding, in the port of the Havannah, the key of the Gulf of Florida, we might be said to be actually possessed of all the treasure of Mexico. No ship could pass from Vera Cruz to Europe without our permission, nor any European vessel thi-

ther. Deprived of the articles which they had been accustomed to receive from the mother-country, and which were necessary to their accommodation, the inhabitants of New Spain would readily have submitted to that power, which alone could supply their wants; and which would have offered them the free exercise of their religion, with a more indulgent government, and a more advantageous market for their produce.

But let us moderate our ideas; let us confine our views solely to the places we had positively taken, and we shall find (admitting Belle-isle to be equal in importance to the island of Minorca, which it certainly is to France or England) that we gave up at the peace of Paris without any equivalent, except the sandy promontory of Florida, not only Martinique, Guadaloupe, and St. Lucia, but the principal part of the large and fertile island of Cuba, with the Havannah its almost impregnable port, the Gibraltar of America; and eventually the rich city of Manilla, and the whole range of the Philippines; to say nothing of the restitution of Pondicherry, Chandernagore, and other places in the East Indies, with the island of Goree on the coast of Africa.

If it was necessary to grant some indulgence to France, in order to quiet the jealousy of other powers (though I am not sensible that Great Britain, considering her insular situation, had occasion to be afraid of giving umbrage to any European power), France might have been allowed to retain, with the town of New Orleans and its territory, her settlements higher on the Missisippi, and the province of Canada, confined within its natural boundaries, the four Great Lakes; or if, instead of Canada, she had wished to be mistress of a sugar island, in addition to her plantations in Hispaniola, she might have been allowed to possess Martinique or Guadaloupe, without the liberty of erecting fortifications. A suspension of the blow hanging over the remaining dominions of Spain in the West Indies, with the provisional resti-

tution of the Philippines, was all that she could reasonably have demanded.

By such an equitable treaty of peace, the haughty family of Bourbon would have been effectually humbled and kept in awe, and the sinews of their naval strength so completely cut, as to prevent them from again becoming formidable by sea. By such a peace England, without further acquisitions, would have established, beyond the possibility of dispute, that maritime dominion which she had long claimed; and might have established it for ever, by erecting it upon the basis of a rich and extensive commerce.

The apparent cause why so glorious an opportunity of humbling our ambitious enemies was neglected, has already been assigned:—" the INFLUENCE of *Tory counsels!*" alike discernible, whether we regard the *inadequate* treaty of Peace, or the *premature* termination of the War. The fatal *effects* of those *counsels* and of that *influence*, I shall have further occasion to shew, in describing the convulsions, and the dismemberment of the British empire; subjects less pleasing to Englishmen, but not less interesting, than its struggles in advancing toward aggrandisement. In the mean time, I must carry forward the Progress of Society, to this grand æra in the HISTORY of MODERN EUROPE.

LETTER XXXVI.

Of the Progress of Society in Europe during the greater Part of the eighteenth Century.

ON a former occasion I brought down the Progress of Society to the close of the seventeenth century[1]. And if we

[1] See Part II. Letter XIX.

examine the history of the eighteenth, and compare it, as far as the year 1763, with the annals of Modern Europe during any preceding period of the same extent, we shall find cause to congratulate mankind on the improvements in the social system; which, with a happy conformity, at once diminished the miseries and multiplied the enjoyments of human life.

If enlightened reason, after ascertaining the interests of nations and the rights of individuals, was unable, during that period, wholly to restrain the ambition of princes, it at least introduced into the operations of war a spirit of generosity and fellow-feeling unknown to our ferocious forefathers. Persecution ceased to kindle the faggot for the trial of orthodoxy, or to water the earth with the blood of the unbelievers; and the peaceful citizen was rarely disturbed in his industrious pursuits, or ingenious labours, by the ravages of intestine war.

If the most exact regulations of police did not prove altogether effectual to suppress private violence, or the strict execution of justice did not entirely banish fraud from the transactions of men, both were rendered less frequent. Property became more secure. The comforts and conveniences of life were more equally enjoyed. Pestilence and famine were kept at a distance. Numerous and commodious receptacles were provided for poverty, and hospitals for disease. Private festivities were enlivened by public entertainments. The pleasures of sense, refined by delicacy, were heightened by those of imagination and sentiment; while taste, in contemplating the beauties of nature and art, might be said to open new sources of satisfaction to the soul, and to offer new delights to the heart.

And if there are some speculative visionaries, under the name of philosophers, who represent Man as more happy in the savage state than when he is furnished with all those social enjoyments and elegant delights, their arguments are too futile to deserve a serious answer: and it would be a just punishment for their impertinence, to exclude them from the

pale of polished life, and condemn them to reside among the barbarians whose manners they affect, and whose condition they pretend to admire.

In support of this representation, my dear Philip, I shall exhibit to your view some leading circumstances, which could not readily enter into the general narration.

Russia, under the auspices of Peter the Great, made a rapid progress in civilisation, and experienced perhaps the most sudden and fortunate change of any country of the same extent in the history of human affairs. But that change, as I have had occasion to remark [2], was not attended with such beneficial consequences as might have been wished to the body of the people, whom Peter found and left in a state of slavery. And notwithstanding the more generous policy of Catharine II. who endeavoured to revive a spirit of liberty among the lower classes, and extended encouragement and protection to her subjects of all degrees, the liberal and ingenious arts of Russia were cultivated chiefly by foreigners, or by such natives as had been initiated in them abroad. Even in her reign, they continued to be in some measure exotics in that great and flourishing empire; not, as Raynal insinuates, on account of the coldness of the climate, but because the mental soil was not sufficiently prepared for their reception. The influence of example, however, usefully extended itself under her sway; and the general progress of improvement was not inconsiderable. Many of the Russian nobility and gentry acquired a relish for polite literature, and were not only exempt from barbarism, but were distinguished by humanity to their vassals, by polished manners and elegant conversation. The citizens tasted the sweets of industry, and prosecuted the mechanic arts with success. Many valuable cultures, both for trade and consumption, were introduced; and it was not unreasonably supposed, that Russia, which had already produced generals and states-

[2] Part II. Letter XXXV.

men, would soon give birth to poets, painters, historians, and philosophers; who collect in their train the whole circle of the arts, sciences, and amusements, and, alleviating the inconveniences of life by its enjoyments, highly improve the system of social happiness.

Of the progress of improvement at that time in Poland, where, beside other adverse circumstances, the feudal aristocracy continued to reign in all its austerity, where the king was a shadow, the people slaves, and the nobles tyrants, little can be said. Sweden and Denmark declined in their consequence, as kingdoms; but the sons of the North did not seem to be less happy, though they appeared to lose with their political freedom their ancient spirit of liberty and independence. They enjoyed more equally the means of a comfortable subsistence. Manufactures, commerce, and agriculture, made considerable progress among them; and we may reasonably state it as a general maxim, which will admit few exceptions, that all communities are happy in proportion to their industry, unless their condition be altogether servile. Nor were these countries without their men of genius and science. Sweden in her Linnæus, who arranged the animal and vegetable systems, and discriminated the genera and species of each, with all the accuracy of Aristotle, could boast the honour of possessing among her natives the most profound naturalist in modern times.

Germany, during the period under review, was perhaps subjected to less change than any other country of equal extent, notwithstanding the frequent wars by which it was shaken. These wars, by keeping up the ancient military habits, and the little intercourse of the body of the people with strangers, in time of peace, by reason of their inland situation, preserved the general manners nearly the same as at the close of the preceding century; and the constitution of the empire sustained little variation from the peace of Westphalia to the death of the emperor Francis. But, in the

course of the eighteenth century, agriculture, manufactures, and the mechanic arts, made great progress in many parts of Germany; especially in the dominions of his Prussian majesty. There the sciences and the polite arts also flourished, under the protection of the illustrious Frederic, who was at once the model of all that is elegant in letters or great in arms; the hero, statesman, historian, and philosopher. He collected around him learned and ingenious men of all countries, whose liberal researches were directed to the most valuable ends. And while Joseph II. filled the Imperial throne, the court of Vienna, long distinguished by its magnificence, became as polished and enlightened as that of Berlin, of London, or Versailles. German literature was then enriched with works of imagination and sentiment; and the writings of Gesner, Klopstock, and other men of genius, excited the general attention of Europe.

The Swiss, so much distinguished by their love of liberty and of their country, and so long accustomed to sell their blood to the different powers of Europe, as other nations do the produce of their soil—having fertilized with culture their barren mountains, and acquired a knowledge of the necessary arts—began, instead of hiring themselves as soldiers to ambitious princes, to pour forth their surplus of population upon more wealthy states in useful artificers and industrious manufacturers; and preserved at home their plain and simple manners, with their ancient independence and military character. Happy without wealth, they were strangers to luxury. Domestic duties among them supplied the place of public amusements, and public virtue concealed the defects in the form of government [3].

The Swiss, at this time, continued to possess all the pa-

[3] The most striking feature in the political character of the people of Switzerland, was the fraternal harmony that so long subsisted, not only between the inhabitants of the several cantons, which were independent of each other, governed by different laws, and professing different religions, but between the citizens of different religions in the same canton.

triotic qualities that gave birth to their republic; while the Dutch, formerly no less zealous in the cause of freedom; who acquired its full establishment by greater and more vigorous efforts, and exhibited to mankind for a century the most perfect picture of a flourishing commonwealth; at length became degenerate and base, dead to all sense of public interest, and to every generous sentiment of the soul. The lust of gain extinguished among them the spirit of patriotism, the love of glory, the feelings of humanity, and even the sense of shame. A total want of principle prevailed in Holland. Riches, which the stupid possessors wanted taste to convert to any pleasurable use, were equivalent, in the opinion of a Dutchman, to all the talents of the mind, and all the virtues of the heart. Avarice was the only passion, and wealth the only merit in the United Provinces. In such a state, a sordid and selfish happiness may be found, like that which the miser enjoys in contemplating his hoard, or the glutton his meal; but there the liberal arts cannot prosper, and elegant manners are not to be expected.

Italy acquired new lustre in the eighteenth century from the splendid courts of Turin and Naples, where arts and literature were encouraged. If painting and architecture continued to decline, music and poetry greatly flourished in this classical country. Metastasio, perhaps inferior to none of her modern bards, perfected her serious musical drama. This drama, distinguished from the old Italian opera, and from the masque, by rejecting marvellous incidents and allegorical personages, is certainly the finest vehicle for music that ever was invented; as the airs are all sung by real actors, strongly agitated by the passions they express; whereas the chorus in the Greek tragedies, so much celebrated for its musical effects, was sung only by cool observers.

But the Italian opera, even in its *most perfect state*, has been represented as unnatural, as well as fantastical, though,

I think, very unjustly. All our fine old ballads, which so exquisitely paint the tender passions, are supposed to be sung by persons under the immediate influence of those passions; and if the stage is allowed to be a picture of life, there can be nothing unnatural in an actor's imitating on it what is believed to have happened upon the great theatre of the world. In order, however, to do as little violence as possible to probability, Metastasio has contrived to throw chiefly into airs or odes those parts of his musical tragedies, that would otherwise evaporate in soliloquy; in fond complainings, or in frantic ravings. The lyric measure is admirably adapted to the language of passion; and surely that mind must be very unmusical which can prefer simple articulation to such enchanting melody, as generally communicates to the heart the soul-dissolving airs of Metastasio.

The state of society in Spain was greatly improved under the princes of the house of Bourbon. The ladies were no longer excluded from company by an illiberal jealousy. The intercourse of the sexes became more general and easy. A taste for agriculture, for arts, manufactures, letters, and even a passion for arms and enterprise, revived among the Spaniards.

A similar taste seemed to extend itself to the neighbouring kingdom of Portugal, after the expulsion of the Jesuits. If this taste had ripened into a philosophic spirit, and had broken the fetters of superstition, we might perhaps have beheld a singular appearance in the history of nations; a great people, after the decline of empire and the corruption of manners, recovering their former consequence and character. Such a phænomenon would have overturned the political hypothesis, chiefly founded on the fate of the Roman empire, that states which have reached their utmost height, like the human body, necessarily tend to decay, and either experience a total dissolution, or become so insignificant as not to excite envy or jealousy.

In France, as I have already had occasion to shew [4], society attained its highest polish before the close of the seventeenth century. But the misfortunes which clouded the latter years of Louis XIV. threw a gloom over the manners of the people ; and a mystical religion became fashionable at court. Madame de Maintenon herself was deeply penetrated with this religion, as was the celebrated abbé Fenelon, afterward archbishop of Cambray, preceptor to the duke of Burgundy, and author of the adventures of Telemachus, one of the finest works of human imagination. The fervour spread, especially among the softer sex ; and Racine, in compliance with the prevailing taste, wrote tragedies on sacred subjects. The court, however, resumed its gaiety under the regency of the duke of Orleans, notwithstanding the accumulated distresses of the nation. And his libertine example, with that of his minister, the cardinal du Bois, introduced a glaring corruption of manners ; a gross sensuality that scorned the veil of decency ; an unprincipled levity that treated every thing sacred and respectable with derision ; and a spirit of dissipation, which, amid the utmost poverty, prevailed during the greater part of the reign of Louis XV.

But this levity, which was chiefly confined to the court, did not prevent the body of the people from seriously attending to their civil and religious rights. And their firmness in this respect deserves to be particularly noticed, as it forms a striking object in the view of society.

A furious dispute between the Jansenists and Jesuits, concerning grace, free-will, and other abstract points of theology, had distracted France in the brightest days of Louis XIV. Many able men employed their pens on both sides. But the Jansenists, supported by the talents of a Nicole, an Arnaud, and a Pascal, had evidently the advantage both in raillery and reasoning. The controversy, however, was not to be determined by such weapons. The Jesuits were

4 Part II. Let. XIX.

supposed to be better Catholics; and, as the conscience of the king had always been in their keeping, the leaders of the Jansenists were persecuted, and thrown into prison, or obliged to abandon their country. The Jesuits, in order to complete their triumph, and the ruin of their religious antagonists, at length obtained the king's consent (through the influence of father le Tellier, his confessor) to refer the disputed points to the pope. They accordingly sent to Rome one hundred and three propositions for condemnation; and the Holy Office, in 1713, declared that one hundred and one of those were heretical.

The bull which condemned the opinions of the Jansenists (commonly known by the name of UNIGENITUS, from the word with which it begins), instead of composing the pious dispute, threw all France into a flame. The body of the people, the parliaments, the archbishop of Paris, fifteen other prelates, and many of the most respectable among the inferior clergy, violently opposed it, as an infringement of the rights of the Gallican church, and of the laws of the realm, as well as an insult on their private judgment. But the king, instigated by his confessor, enforced its reception; and the whole kingdom was soon divided into *Acceptants* and *Recusants*. The death of Louis put a stop to the dispute. And the duke of Orleans, while regent, ordered the persecution to cease, and at the same time enjoined the recusant bishops to accept the bull, accompanied with certain explications. They found themselves under the necessity of complying. Even the good cardinal de Noailles, archbishop of Paris, was induced to do violence to his sentiments, in 1720, for the sake of peace.

From that time to the year 1750, the bull Unigenitus, though reprobated by the people, occasioned no public disturbance. Then it was resolved by the clergy to demand confessional notes of dying persons; and it was ordered that those notes should be signed by priests adhering to the bull, without which no viaticum, no extreme unction, could

be obtained. And these consolatory rites were refused without pity to all Recusants, and to such as confessed to Recusants. The new archbishop of Paris engaged warmly in this scheme, and the parliament supported no less warmly the cause of the people. Other parliaments followed the example of that of Paris; and those clergymen who refused to administer the sacraments to persons in their last moments, were thrown into prison. The church complained of the interposition of the civil power; and Louis XV. by an act of his absolute authority, prohibited the parliaments from taking cognizance of such points.

These parliaments, as I formerly observed, were only the supreme courts of justice, not the states of the kingdom, or proper legislative body: yet, after the abolition of the national assemblies, they acted as faithful guardians of the rights of the people, and endeavoured to check the despotism of the crown, by refusing to register its oppressive edicts, as well as by remonstrating against them [5]; and they frequently interposed their authority, with advantage, in matters of religion.

The heads of the parliament of Paris, which ever stood foremost in repressing both regal and ecclesiastical tyranny, took the liberty, on this occasion, to remind the king, that their privileges, and the duty of their station, obliged them to do justice on all delinquents. They accordingly continued in the exercise of their several functions, without regard to the king's prohibition, and had actually commenced a prosecution against the bishop of Orleans, when they received

5 No royal edict could have the force of a law before it was registered in parliament; and although the French parliaments could not absolutely refuse to register such edicts, when the royal authority was exerted in all its fullness (that is to say, when the king held personally in parliament what was called a *Bed of Justice*), yet they might, even in that case, suspend the registration, and likewise remonstrate against the edict itself. These remonstrances, and their beneficial effects, deservedly procured to the French parliaments the highest veneration among the people.

from Versailles a *lettre de cachet*, accompanied by letters-patent (which they were ordered to register), commanding them to suspend all prosecutions relative to the refusal of the sacraments. Instead of obeying these orders, the different tribunals of the parliament presented new remonstrances: and being referred for answers to the king's former declarations, they had the spirit to resolve, "that, "whereas certain evil-minded persons had prevented truth "from reaching the throne, the chambers remained as-"sembled, and all other business would consequently be "suspended." The king renewed his orders, and commanded the parliament to proceed to business; but all the chambers, far from complying, came to another resolution more bold than the former, importing, that they could not obey this injunction without violating their duty and their oath.

Affairs being thus brought to extremity, the king banished to different parts of the kingdom (in 1753) the members of all the chambers of the parliament, except those of the great chamber; and they, proving no more compliant than their brethren, were also banished. New difficulties and disputes ensued. To prevent the administration of justice from being stopped by this violent measure, Louis erected what was called a *Royal Chamber*, for the prosecution of suits civil and criminal. But the letters-patent, constituting this new court, ought to have been registered by the parliament of Paris, which had no longer an existence. To remedy this difficulty, application was made to the inferior court of the Chatelet, which refused to register the letters in question, even after one of its members had been committed to the Bastile, and another obliged to abscond. Intimidated, however, by such a bold exertion of despotic power, the remaining members allowed the king's officers to enter the letters-patent in their register. But they thought proper, on more mature deliberation, to retire from business, leaving on the table an *arret* expressive of their reasons.

The royal chamber was now the only court of law in

Paris. The judges assembled; but they could find no advocates to plead. They were treated with general contempt; and the suspension of justice threatened anarchy and confusion. Meanwhile the clergy seemed to enjoy their victory amid the public disorder, and entered into associations for the support of their authority. But the king ceased to countenance them. Being at length sensible of their pride and obstinacy, as well as of the evils it had occasioned, he exhorted them to act with moderation. He also recalled the parliament, which returned in triumph to Paris, in 1754, amid the acclamations of the people, who celebrated the event with extravagant demonstrations of joy. And the archbishop, who continued to encourage the priests in refusing the sacraments, was banished to his country-seat, as were also the bishops of Orleans and Troyes.

A temporary quiet was by these means produced; but it proved only a calm before a more violent storm. The archbishop of Paris, in retirement, continued his intrigues. He was banished to a greater distance from court. But the dispute in regard to the bull Unigenitus, which he had revived, did not subside. The clergy persisted in refusing the sacraments, and the civil power in prosecuting them for such refusal; so that, in those distracted times, the communion was frequently administered by an *arret* of parliament!

The king, a second time drawn over to the ecclesiastical side of the question, referred the dispute to the pope. Benedict XIV. though a mild and moderate man, could not retract a constitution regarded as a law of the church: he therefore declared, in a circular letter or brief, to all the bishops of France, that the bull Unigenitus must be acknowledged as an universal law against which none could make resistance "without endangering their eternal salvation."

The parliament of Paris, considering this brief as a direct attack upon the rights of the Gallican church, suppressed it by an *arret*. The king, enraged at their boldness, as well as at their refusal to register some oppressive taxes, resolved

to hold a Bed of Justice. He repaired to the hall of the parliament on the 13th of November, 1756, attended by the whole body of his guards, amounting to ten thousand men, and ordered an edict to be read, by which he suppressed the fourth and fifth chambers of inquests, the members of which had been most firm in opposing the brief. He then commanded that the bull should be respected, and prohibited the secular judges from ordering the administration of the sacrament. And he concluded with declaring, that he *would be obeyed!*--Fifteen counsellors of the great chamber lodged their resignation at the office next day. One hundred and twenty-four members of the different courts of parliament followed their example; and strong murmurs prevailed in the city and throughout the kingdom.

Amidst these murmurs, the desperate fanatic Damien stabbed the king in the manner already related[6]; not, as he declared, with an intention of killing his sovereign, but only of wounding him, that God might touch his heart, and incline him to order the administration of the sacraments at the time of death:—What effect this declaration had upon the mind of Louis, it is impossible to say; but it is certain that he again banished the archbishop of Paris, who had been recalled, and found it expedient to accommodate matters with the parliament, which again proceeded to business.

But the grand triumph of the French parliaments was to come. The Jesuits, the chief supporters of the bull Unigenitus, having rendered themselves universally odious by their concern in the conspiracy against the life of the king of Portugal, fell in France under the lash of the civil power, for some fraudulent mercantile transactions. They refused to discharge the debts of one of their body, who had become bankrupt for a large sum, and who was supposed to act for the benefit of the whole society. As a monk, indeed, he must necessarily do so. The parliaments eagerly seised an

[6] Part II. Letter XXXII.

opportunity of humbling their spiritual enemies. The Jesuits were cited before those high tribunals, in 1761, and ordered to do justice to their creditors. They seemed to acquiesce in the decision, but delayed payment under various pretences. New suits were commenced against them, in 1762, on account of the pernicious tendency of their writings. In the course of these proceedings, which the king endeavoured in vain to stay, they were compelled to produce their INSTITUTE; or the rules of their order, hitherto studiously concealed. That mysterious volume, which was found to contain maxims subversive of all civil government, and even of the fundamental principles of morals, completed their ruin. All their colleges were seised, all their effects confiscated; and the king, ashamed or afraid to protect them, not only resigned them to their fate, but finally banished them by a solemn edict, and abolished the order of Jesus in France.

Elate with this victory over ecclesiastical tyranny, the French parliaments attempted to set bounds to the absolute power of the crown, and seemed determined to confine it within the limits of law. Not satisfied with refusing, as usual, to register certain oppressive edicts, or with remonstrating against them, they ordered criminal prosecutions to be instituted against the governors of several provinces, who, acting in the king's name, had enforced the registration of those edicts. But I must not here enter upon this subject, which is intimately connected with the body of history, and would lead us far into the affairs of later times.

Notwithstanding these disorders, and the regal and spiritual despotism that occasioned them, the enlargement of the human mind was very considerable in France, during the century of which we are treating. If poetry, painting, music, sculpture, and architecture, should be allowed to have attained their height in that kingdom under the sway of Louis XIV., they did not greatly decline in the reign of his successor; and many arts, both useful and ornamental,

were then invented or improved; particularly the art of engraving on copper, which was carried to such a degree of perfection as to rival painting itself; of making porcelain, plate-glass, fine paper, and paper toys; and of counterfeiting in paste, so ingeniously as to deceive the nicest eye at a little distance, the diamond, the pearl, and all sorts of gems. The weaving of silk was rendered more facile, while its culture was extended; and a culture of still greater importance to society, that of corn, was considerably improved.

Du Hamel, a member of the French academy, by philosophically investigating the principles of husbandry, made it a fashionable study, and introduced a taste for agriculture, which was attended with very beneficial effects. Nor was that worthy citizen the only man of learning in France, who turned the eye of philosophy from mind to matter, and from the study of the heavens to the investigation of human affairs. This rational turn of thinking particularly distinguished French literature in the reign of Louis XV.

At the head of the philosophers of REASON, of the instructors of their species in what concerns their most important interests, we must place the baron de Montesquieu. That penetrating genius, who may be termed the LEGISLATOR OF MAN, by discovering the latent springs of government—its moving principle, under all its different forms, and the *spirit of laws* in each—imparted to political reasoning a degree of certainty, of which it was not thought capable. His countryman Helvetius, also endowed with a truly philosophical genius, attempted to introduce the same degree of certainty into moral and metaphysical reasoning, though not with equal success.

Helvetius, systematical to a fault, but eccentric even in system, in vain employed his fine talents to convince mankind, that they are all born with equal capacity, or aptitude to receive and retain ideas, and that all their virtues and

talents, as well as the different degrees in which they possess them, are merely the effects of education, and other external circumstances. But his zealous endeavours to destroy the hydra prejudice, by contrasting the mutual contempt of nations, the hatred of religions, and the scorn of different classes in the same kingdom for each other, must tend to humble pride and soften animosities; and his generous efforts to rescue virtue from the hands of Jesuitical casuists, and connect it intimately with government, by fixing it on the solid basis of PUBLIC GOOD, cannot fail to benefit society; while his ingenuity in tracing the motives of human action, and in demonstrating the influence of physical causes upon the moral conduct of man, may be pronounced highly useful to poets, historians, and legislators.

While Montesquieu and Helvetius were thus contemplating the political and moral world, and investigating the powers and principles of man, as a member of society, with the effect of government and laws upon the human character, Buffon was employed in surveying the natural world; in examining the secret cells of generation, animal instinct, and animal life, in all their gradations, from a snail and the shell-fish up to man; the organization of the human frame, the original imperfection of the senses, and the means by which they are perfected; and his inquiries were accompanied with such just and sublime reflections, as leave the mind equally astonished at the vigour of his genius and the extent of his knowledge.

"Much has been written in this age,[7]" says Voltaire; "but genius belonged to the last." Had no other man of genius appeared, he himself would have furnished proof of the falsity of this assertion, and in more departments than one. If the Henriade is inferior to the Iliad, it is at least the finest poem of the epic kind that France has hitherto produced. The Zara, the Alzira, the Merope, are equal in dic-

7 The eighteenth century.

tion and pathos to any tragedy of Racine; and the Mahomet is, beyond comparison, superior to the famous Cinna of Corneille. Voltaire possessed a more comprehensive range of thought than either of those writers; and he acquired that superiority by his application to history and philosophy. His philosophical pieces are generally too free, and are often of a pernicious tendency; yet they have served to promote inquiry, and to enlighten the human understanding. His Age of Louis XIV. his History of Russia, and of Charles XII. of Sweden, are models of elegant composition and just thinking. A love of singularity has disfigured his General History with many impertinences; but the *stamina* will remain an eternal monument of taste, genius, and sound judgment. He first connected, with the chain of political and military events, the progress of literature, of arts, and of manners.

France produced many other men of genius, during the period under review. But it is not my purpose to speak of men of genius merely as such; otherwise I should dwell with particular pleasure on the beautiful extravagances of Rousseau, and endeavour to estimate the merit of his wonderful romance:—I mention them only as connected with the progress of society. In this line I am happy to name D'Alembert and Diderot; to whom French literature is indebted for many truly classical productions, and the whole literary world for that treasure of universal science, the *Encyclopédie.*

Marmontel, who contributed liberally toward that great work, has further enriched the literature of his country by a new species of fiction, in his enchanting *Contes Moraux.* More philosophical than the common novel, and less prolix than the romance, they combine instruction and amusement in a manner perhaps superior to every other species of fanciful composition. Nor must I, in speaking of the improvers of French literature, omit the two Crebillons. The father has given to tragedy a force of character not found in Cor-

neille or Voltaire; and the romances of the son are captivating, but dangerous productions, in a new taste. This sportive and elegant mode of writing, with all its levities, digressions, and libertine display of sentiment, has been happily imitated in England, by the celebrated author of *Tristram Shandy*, commonly supposed to be original in his manner. Even the idea of the much-admired *Adventures of a Guinea* is borrowed from the *Sopha* of the younger Crebillon.

We must now, my dear Philip, direct our attention to our own island. Here arts, manners, and literature, have made great progress since the glorious æra of the Revolution; when our civil and religious rights were fully established, and our constitution more equally balanced. This fortunate event, which diverted the mind from trivial objects, introduced a passion for political reasoning. And the austere character of William, with the exemplary deportment of Mary, gave a check to the licentious manners of the court, which had highly offended the virtuous part of the nation, during the two preceding reigns. Under the sway of William, Locke wrote his *Essay on Government*, and Swift his *Tale of a Tub*. These are two of the best prose compositions in our language, whether we consider the style or matter: the former is an example of close manly reasoning, carrying conviction to the heart; the latter, of the irresistible force of ridicule, when supported by wit, humour, and satire.

But as William, though a powerful prince, and the prime mover of the political machine of Europe, was regarded in England, by one half of the nation, as only the head of a faction, many of the nobility and gentry kept at a distance from court; so that the advance of taste and politeness was very inconsiderable, till the reign of queen Anne. Then the splendour of heroic actions called off, for a time, the attention of all parties from political disputes, to contemplate the glory of their country. Then appeared a crowd of great men, whose characters are well known, and whose names

are familiar to every ear. Then were displayed the strong talents and elegant accomplishments of a Marlborough, a Godolphin, a Somers, a Harley, and a St.-John. Then subsisted in full force that natural connexion between the learned and the great, by which the latter never fail to be gainers. Swift, Addison, Congreve, Rowe, Steele, Vanbrugh, Prior, Pope, and other men of genius in that age, not only enjoyed the friendship and familiarity of the principal persons in power, but most of them in early life obtained places in some of the less burthensome departments of government, which put it in their power to pass the rest of their days in ease and independence [8].

Thus raised to respect, above the necessity of writing for bread, and enabled to follow their particular vein, several of those men of genius united their talents, in furnishing the public with a daily paper, under the name of the SPECTATOR; which, by combating, with reason and raillery, the faults in composition, and the improprieties in behaviour, as well as the reigning vices and follies, had a wonderful effect upon the taste and manners of the nation. It contributed greatly to polish and improve both.

Such a monitor was indeed much wanted. The comedies of Vanbrugh, so justly admired for their genuine humour and ease of dialogue, are shockingly licentious; and the

8 The man who, rolling in riches, could make the following unfeeling remark, deserves no mercy from the candidates for literary merit, none from the cultivators of the elegant arts—from the poet or the painter, whatever admiration he may profess for their labours: "*Want of protection* is the *apology* for "want of *genius*. A poet or a painter may want an equipage or a villa, by "wanting protection; they can always afford to buy ink and paper, colours "and pencils." (*Anecdotes of Painting in England, Pref.* p. vii.) But who is to afford them a subsistence, till they can finish any ingenious work? and what is subsistence, without encouragement? without the animating hopes of fame? which, in most minds, require the fostering hand of patronage, or protection. Hence the more just and generous sentiment of Gray, in speaking of obscure and neglected bards:

> "Chill penury repress'd their noble rage,
> "And froze the genial current of the soul."

principal characters in the greater part of Congreve's pieces, where wit sparkles with unborrowed brilliancy, are so libertine or prostitute, as to put virtue and decency utterly out of countenance. Even the last pieces of Dryden, then considered as models of elegance, are by no means sufficiently delicate in sentiment. Like all the authors formed under the reign of Charles II. that great but licentious poet represents love as an appetite rather than a passion. His celebrated tale of *Sigismonda and Guiscardo*, the most pathetic of all his FABLES, is not free from this fault.

"Thy little care to mend my widow'd nights,"

says Sigismonda to her father,

"Has forc'd me to recourse of marriage rites,
"To fill an empty side, and follow known delight.
"Nor need'st thou by thy daughter to be told,
"Though now thy sprightly blood with age be cold—
"Thou hast been young, and canst remember still,
"That, when thou hadst the power, thou hadst the will;
"And, from the past experience of thy fires,
"Canst tell with what a tide our strong desires
"Come rushing on in youth, and what their rage requires."

This may all be very natural in the abstract. Women of certain complexions, the slaves of animal appetite, may be under the tyranny of such desires; but they are surely not common to the sex: and we sympathise as little with those ravenous and inordinate passions, as we do with an immoderate call for food. In the mouth of so accomplished a princess as Sigismonda, such gross sentiments can only excite disgust. They are alike unsuitable to her character, her condition, and her enthusiastic passion [9]. Dryden knew

[9] The extravagant praise lately paid to this Tale, by a popular critic, has induced me to be thus particular, in order to prevent an indiscriminate admiration, raised by the magic of verse, and supported by such high authority, from corrupting the taste and the morals of youth.

nothing of the female heart, and little of the heart of man. Having no sensibility himself, he wanted that sympathetic chord, which alone could conduct him to the bosoms of others, and enable him to raise correspondent emotions [10].

Prior's *Henry and Emma* is the first poem of any length in our language, in which love is treated with becoming delicacy; if we except those of the epic and dramatic kind, by Spenser, Shakspeare, and Milton. I cannot forbear quoting the following lines, though perhaps inferior in poetical merit, as a contrast to the sentiments of Sigismonda. Emma speaks:

"When from the cave thou risest with the day,
"To beat the woods and rouse the bounding prey,
"The cave with moss and branches I'll adorn,
"And chearful sit to wait my lord's return.
"With humble duty and officious haste,
"I'll cull the farthest mead for thy repast;
"The choicest herbs I to thy board will bring,
"And draw thee water from the freshest spring.
"My thoughts shall fix, my latest wish depend
"On thee, guide, guardian, kinsman, father, friend!
"By all these sacred names be Henry known
"To Emma's heart; and grateful let him own,
"That she, of all mankind, could love but him alone."

To Prior we are also indebted for the art of telling a gay story with ease, grace, and levity. He was the first English poet who united elegance and correctness. His *Alma* is

[10] A stronger proof of this assertion cannot be given than in the sorrow of Sigismonda over the *heart* of her beloved husband; which, instead of drawing tears of compassion down the most obdurate cheek, as might have been expected, must fill every reader of taste and sentiment with contempt. The heart was in a cup.

——————"Though once I meant to meet
"My fate with face unmov'd, and eyes unwet;
"Yet since I have thee here in *narrow room*,
"My tears shall set thee first afloat within thy tomb!"

a delightful performance of the burlesque kind; and his *Solomon*, though somewhat tedious for want of incident, has great and various merit. It is a school of wisdom, and a banquet of intellectual pleasure.

Our polite literature, in all its branches, now tended fast towards perfection. Steele freed English comedy from the licentiousness of former writers. If he had not all the wit of Congreve, or the humour of Vanbrugh, he was more chaste and natural than either. He knew life well, and has given us in his comedies, as well as in his numerous papers in the Tatler and Spectator, many just and lively pictures of the manners of that age of half-refinement.

Rowe, in like manner, purified our tragic poetry, by excluding from his best pieces all grossly-sensual descriptions, as well as indelicate and impious expressions. Though intimately acquainted with the best models, both ancient and modern, he may be deemed an original writer. His plots and his sentiments are chiefly his own. If he paints the passions with less force and truth than Shakspeare or Otway, he is free from the barbarism of the one, and the licentiousness of the other: and his tragedies exhibit so many noble and generous sentiments, introduced without any flagrant violation of the propriety of character or the verisimilitude of nature, that they continue to give pleasure (after the lapse of a century from the first appearance of some of them) equally in the closet and on the stage. This favourable reception proceeds in some measure from what has been considered as his greatest fault: he is never sublime in the highest degree, or pathetic in the extreme, but always tender and interesting. Terror and pity, the two throbbing pulses of tragedy, are not carried, in his compositions, to a painful excess. His language is rich, and his versification is easy and flowing; but it wants vigour. Like most of our dramatic writers, he frequently violates not only the critical, but the rational unities of time and place, to the great injury of the general effect of every piece in which such liberty is

taken. I have already had occasion to explain myself on this subject in speaking of the plays of Shakspeare[11].

Addison's *Cato* has more vigour of versification than the tragedies of Rowe, but less ease. It is, however, a noble effort of cultivated genius; and notwithstanding its supposed want of pathos, because it provokes no tears, it is perhaps our best modern tragedy. Addison has also written verses on various subjects, both in English and Latin, and is generally polished and correct, though not enthusiastically poetical. But whatever merit he may have as a poet, he is great as a prose writer..

Swift had given perspicuity and conciseness to the clouded redundancy of Clarendon, and compactness to the loose, though harmonious, periods of Temple; but it was left to Addison to furnish elegance and grace, and to enchant us with all the magic of humour, and all the attractive charms of natural and moral beauty. He wrote the most admired papers in the Spectator, Tatler, Guardian, and other publications of the same kind. In those papers he has discussed a great variety of subjects, both comic and serious, and has treated each so happily, as almost to induce his readers to think he had studied that alone. Our language is more indebted to him not only for words and phrases, but for images, than to any other writer in prose. If his style has any fault, it is want of force.

This defect in our prose composition was supplied by lord Bolingbroke; who, in his *Dissertation on Parties*, in his *Letter to Sir William Wyndham*, and in his *Idea of a Patriot*

[11] Part II. Lett. XIX. There, it was observed, that the scene may be shifted (or, in other words, the place changed) to any distance consistent with probability, and that any portion of time may elapse between the acts, not destructive of the unity of the fable, without impairing the effect of the representation or disturbing the dream of reality; but I am firmly of opinion, that no such change can be made in the middle of an act without injury to both, as the chain of emotions will thus be broken, as well as the connexion of ideas, and the spectator left nearly in the same cool and disengaged state of mind as when he entered the theatre, or when the act began.

King, has united strength with elegance, and energy and elevation with grace. It is not possible to carry further the *beauty* and *force* of our multifarious tongue, without endangering the one or the other. The earl of Chesterfield is perhaps more elegantly correct, and gracefully easy, but he wants the sinews of his master; and if Dr. Johnson, on some subjects, appears to have greater force than Bolingbroke, he is generally destitute of ease. His periods are too artificially arranged, and his words too remote from common use. He wrote like a scholar, not like a gentleman; like a man who had mingled little with the world, or never complied with its forms.

What Bolingbroke performed in prose, his friend Pope accomplished even more fully in verse. Having early discovered the bent of his genius, he diligently studied the poets who had written before him in his native tongue, more especially those who had made use of rhyme; not, as has been invidiously insinuated, that he found his genius too feeble to give vigour to blank verse, but because rhyme was the prevailing mode of versification when he began to turn his mind to poetry. The public had not yet acquired a taste for the majesty of Miltonic numbers, or that varied harmony which they afford to the delicate and classical ear. He seems therefore to have confined his attention chiefly to Waller, Denham, and Dryden.

I have not hitherto had occasion to mention Denham. He wrote in the reign of Charles II. but was little infected with the bad taste of his age. His descriptive poem, entitled *Cooper's Hill*, is still deservedly admired. It abounds with natural images, happily blended with moral reflexions. His style is close, and his versification vigorous. The following lines will exemplify his manner of writing:

" My eye, descending from the HILL, surveys
" Where Thames among the wanton valleys strays:
" Thames, the most lov'd of all the Ocean's sons
" By his old sire, to his embraces runs;

"Hast'ning to pay his tribute to the sea,
"Like mortal life, to meet eternity.
"Though with those streams he no resemblance hold,
"Whose foam is amber and their gravel gold,
"His genuine and less guilty wealth t'explore,
"Search not his bottom, but survey his shore."

Pope was not insensible to the merit of Denham's versification; but he saw the necessity of looking nearer to his own time for a master. And he found such a master as he sought in Dryden; who, to the sweetness of Waller, and the strength of Denham, added a compass of verse, and an energy entirely his own. Pope accordingly made the versification of Dryden his model. And if his own compositions have not all the fire of the *Alexander's Feast*, the easy vigour of the *Absalom and Ahithophel*, or the animated flow of the Fables of his master; yet the collected force and finer polish of his numbers, a nicer choice of words, and a more delicate and just, though less bold, imagery, entitle him to all the praise that can belong to an emulous imitator, not invested with absolute superiority: while new flights of fancy, and new turns of thought and expression, greater sensibility of heart and elevation of mind, with a closer attention to natural and moral objects, yield him all the requisites of a rival more favoured by fortune, and more zealous in the pursuit of fame. *The Rape of the Lock*, the *Eloisa to Abelard*, the *Messiah*, and the *Essay on Man*, are not only the finest poems of their kind in ours, but in any modern language.

If Pope's versification has any fault, it is that of too much regularity. He generally confines the sense, and consequently the run of metrical harmony, to the couplet. This practice enabled him to give great brilliancy to his thoughts and strength to his numbers. It has therefore a good effect in his moral and satirical pieces; though it certainly offends the ear, when frequently repeated, and becomes cloying in long poems, especially in those of the narrative or descriptive kind. A fault so obvious, though committed by himself,

could not escape the correct taste and keen discernment of Pope. We accordingly find in his translation of Homer (where such monotonous uniformity would have been inexcusable), as well as in his fanciful pieces, a more free and varied versification often attempted with success. Two examples will be sufficient to set this point in a clear light; to shew both his manner of confining his sense to the couplet, and of extending it, in compositions of a different species.

"Our humbler province is to tend the fair,
"Not a less pleasing, though less glorious care;
"To save the powder from too rough a gale,
"Nor let th' imprison'd essences exhale;
"To draw fresh colours from the vernal flowers,
"To steal from rainbows, ere they drop in showers,
"A brighter wash—" *Rape of the Lock*, Cant. ii.

"——Thus breathing death, in terrible array,
"The close-compacted legions urg'd their way:
"Fierce they drove on, impatient to destroy;
"Troy charg'd the first, and Hector first of Troy.
"As from some mountain's craggy forehead torn
"A rock's huge fragment flies, with fury borne,
"(Which from the stubborn stone a torrent rends)
"Precipitate the pond'rous mass descends;
"From steep to steep the rolling ruin bounds,
"At every shock the crackling wood resounds;
"Still gath'ring strength, it smokes; and, urg'd amain,
"Whirls, leaps, and thunders down, impetuous to the plain:
"There stops—So Hector," &c. *Iliad*, xiii.

Pope, in a word, if we may judge by the unsuccessful attempts of later writers, has given, to our heroic verse in rhyme, all the freedom and variety of which it is capable, without *breaking* its *structure* or *impairing* its *vigour*.

Of the former of these faults examples are numerous among the poetical successors of Pope; but one, from the

writings of a man of genius, whence hundreds might be selected, will serve to illustrate the justice of this remark.

"And are there Bards, who on creation's file
"Stand rank'd as men, who breathe in this fair isle
"The air of freedom, with so little gall,
"So low a spirit, prostrate thus to fall
"Before these idols, and without a groan
"Bear wrongs, might call forth murmurs from a stone?"

Churchill's *Independence.*

How much inferior to the bold interrogatory of the author of the *Essay on Man!*

"Who knows but HE, whose hand the Lightning forms,
"Who heaves old Ocean, and who wings the Storms,
"Pours fierce Ambition in a Cæsar's mind,
"Or turns young Ammon loose to scourge mankind?"

The latter fault however, *want of vigour*, is more common in this age of refinement. Even such lines as the following, though easy and flowing, contradict the general character of our language and versification, that of comprehending much meaning in few words.

"Of that enchanting age her figure seems,
"When smiling Nature with the vital beams
"Of vivid Youth, and Pleasure's purple flame,
"Gilds her accomplish'd work, the female frame,
"With rich luxuriance tender, sweetly wild,
"And just between the woman and the child."

Can any one, on reading these admired verses, discern the propriety of Roscommon's famous metaphor in speaking of English poetry?

"The weighty bullion of one STERLING line,
"Drawn in French wire, would through whole pages shine."

They who aspire at a greater compass of harmony, and who

are ambitious of continuing unbroken its winding stream, must throw aside the fetters of rhyme.

Born with a strong understanding, a benevolent heart, and an enthusiastic fancy—with all the powers necessary to form a great poet, Thomson perceived that Pope had attained the summit of excellence in that mode of composition which he had adopted. He was not, however, discouraged. He saw there were other paths to fame; and by judiciously making choice of blank verse, which was perfectly suited to the exuberance of his genius, to the grandeur of his conceptions, and to the boldness of his metaphorical images, as well as to the minute wildness of his poetical descriptions, he has left us, in his *Seasons*, a greater number of just, beautiful, and sublime views of external nature, than are to be found in the works of all other poets since the days of Lucretius.

Akenside, *feelingly alive* to all the impressions of natural and moral beauty, who surveyed the universe with a truly benevolent eye, and a heart filled with admiration and love of the wisdom and goodness of the Supreme Being, has given us, in his *Pleasures of Imagination*, a delightful system of the philosophy of taste, unfolded in all the pomp of Miltonic verse.

And Armstrong, the friend of Thomson, and, like Akenside, a physician by profession, has bequeathed to mankind a more valuable legacy, in his *Art of preserving Health*, while he has furnished the literary world with a more classical poem, in the same species of versification, than either the *Seasons* or the *Pleasures of Imagination*. After such profuse praise, it will be necessary to give a specimen of the composition of this elegant writer.

> " He without riot in the balmy feast
> " Of life, the wants of Nature has supplied,
> " Who rises cool, serene, and full of soul.
> " But pliant Nature more or less demands,
> " As custom forms her :—and all sudden change
> " She hates, of habit even from bad to good.

"If faults in life, or new emergencies,
"From habits urge you by long time confirm'd,
"Slow may the change arrive, and stage by stage;
"Slow as the shadow o'er the dial moves;
"Slow as the stealing progress of the year."

While blank verse was thus attaining its highest polish in the prosperous reign of George II. and descriptive and didactive poetry approaching toward perfection, the lighter walks of the Muse were by no means neglected. Akenside, not satisfied with rivaling Virgil in his most finished work, entered the lists also with Horace and Pindar; and although he has not equaled the courtly gaiety of the former, or the sublimity, fire, and bold digressions of the latter, he deserves great praise for having given us the first classical examples of the manner of both. Nor have we yet many finer stanzas in our language, than that which contains some traits of the character of Alcæus, in Akenside's Ode on *Lyric Poetry*.

"Broke from the fetters of his native land,
"Devoting shame and vengeance to her lords,
"With louder impulse and a threat'ning hand
"The Lesbian patriot smites the sounding chords:—
"Ye wretches, ye perfidious train,
"Ye curs'd of gods and free-born men,
"Ye murd'rers of the laws!
"Though now ye glory in your lust,
"Though now ye tread the feeble neck in dust,
"Yet time and righteous Jove will judge your dreadful cause!"

Collins and Gray have been more successful in imitating the wild enthusiasm of Pindar; though it must be admitted, by their warmest admirers, that the lyric pieces of these two poets owe their celebrity chiefly to a certain solemn obscurity, through which their meaning occasionally breaks, with a degree of poetic splendour that overpowers the faculties of the reader, as lightning is rendered more awful by the interposing darkness of a thunder-cloud. In the odes of Collins,

however, may be found some truly sublime stanzas; especially the first stanza in the Ode to *Liberty*, the first in that to *Mercy*, and the first in that to *Fear*. And Gray's *Welsh Bard*, examined as a whole, has great merit, whether we consider the variety and force of the numbers, or the gloomy grandeur of the imagery.

But, among our lyric poets, no one appears to me to have so well imitated the philosophic good humour and good sense of Horace as Akenside. Nothing can be more happily pursued than the whole train of thinking in his Ode on the *Winter Solstice*. After lamenting the destructive rage of the elements, he proceeds thus:

"But let not Man's unequal views
"Presume o'er Nature and her laws;
"'Tis his with grateful joy to use
"Th' indulgence of the SOVEREIGN CAUSE:
"Secure that Health and Beauty springs,
"Through this majestic frame of things,
"Beyond what he can reach to know;
"And that Heav'n's all-subduing will
"With Good, the progeny of Ill,
"Attemp'reth every state below."

Nor are the Pindaric odes of this poet destitute of dignity, though that dignity consists less in pomp of language than in elevation of sentiment. The character of Milton, in the Ode on the *Power of Poetry*, addressed to the Earl of Huntingdon, is daringly bold.

"Mark how the dread Pantheon stands
"Amid the domes of modern hands;
"Amid the toys of idle state,
"How simply, how severely great!
"Then turn, and while each western clime
"Presents her tuneful sons to Time,
"So mark thou Milton's awful name," &c.

That whole ode breathes a noble spirit of freedom; such

MAHARAJA BENFORD'S SARASWATI

as prevailed, to use the author's own words, in speaking of the Muse,

> " When Greece to her immortal shell
> " Rejoicing listen'd, god-like sounds to hear;
> " To hear the sweet Instructress tell
> " (While men and heroes throng'd around)
> " How life its noblest use may find,
> " How best for freedom be resign'd,
> " And how, by Glory, Virtue shall be crown'd."

Since I have touched upon this animating subject, I must transcribe the opening of Collins' *Ode to Liberty*, which has always roused me more forcibly than any thing I ever read in any language.

> " Who shall awake the Spartan fife,
> " And call in solemn sounds to life
> " The youths whose locks divinely spreading,
> " Like vernal hyacinths in sullen hue,
> " At once the breath of Fear and Virtue shedding,
> " Applauding Freedom lov'd of old to view?"

The conclusion of the same stanza, containing a description of the fall of the Roman empire, is not less poetical, but is historically false, and consequently of dangerous tendency, as it may communicate an erroneous turn of thinking to the untutored mind.

> " No, Freedom! no, I will not tell,
> " How Rome, before thy weeping face,
> " With heaviest sound, a giant-statue fell,
> " Push'd by a wild and artless race
> " From off its wide ambitious base;
> " When Time his northern sons of spoil awoke,
> " And all the blended work of strength and grace,
> " With many a rude repeated stroke,
> " And many a barbarous yell, to thousand fragments broke."

Now the truth is, that, long before this event, Rome had not only lost her own liberty, but had basely violated the

liberties of other nations: and the whole empire languished under the most enslaving despotism. The description, therefore, though consistent in itself, is false in every point of view, as applied to the Román empire. And Freedom, instead of weeping at the fall of Rome, may be said poetically to have assisted the sons of the North, in breaking to pieces that *Giant-statue*, or enormous monarchy, in order to emancipate mankind from its degrading dominion and corrupting influence.

About the same time that Akenside, Collins, and Gray, were perfecting our lyric poetry, a new turn was given to our love-verses by Hammond; a man of taste and sensibility, who imitated with success the elegiac manner of Tibullus, and imparted to his amorous solicitations a soft melancholy, entirely in unison with the tone of the passion, and a tenderness to which Waller and Prior were strangers. A short extract will illustrate these observations.

" With thee I hop'd to waste the pleasing day,
" 'Till in thy arms an age of joy was past;
" Then, old with love, insensibly decay,
" And on thy bosom gently breathe my last.

" I scorn the Lydian river's golden wave,
" And all the vulgar charms of human life;
" I only ask to live my Delia's slave,
" And, when I long have serv'd her, call her wife."

This species of versification is happily adapted to such subjects, notwithstanding what has been said to the contrary by a learned and dictatorial critic; for although " the *quatrain* " of ten syllables," in alternate rhyme, is capable of great strength and dignity, though it may be condensed into a solid column, in commemoration of victory, it can also be dilated with more facility than the couplet, into a loose floating veil of mourning, or breathed into a tremulous symphony of fond complaint. It has accordingly been adopted by all succeeding elegiac writers of any eminence; but particularly by Gray, in his celebrated *Elegy in a Country Church-Yard*,

and by Shenstone in those excellent moral Elegies, published after his death, which do so much honour both to his head and heart, and form so severe a satire on his want of œconomy.

Shenstone deserves to be here mentioned on another account. He has given us a refined species of rural poetry, with which we were formerly unacquainted; and which, if not altogether *pastoral*, is exceedingly *pleasing*. It is, indeed, *something better*: it represents the manners and the sentiments of a gentleman residing in the country, instead of those of a clown. In this respect, it does not differ essentially from the pastorals of the polished and courtly Virgil, who would not have been ashamed to own the following elegant lines:

"Can a bosom so gentle remain
"Unmov'd when her Corydon sighs?
"Will a nymph that is fond of the plain,
"Those plains and this valley despise?
"Dear regions of silence and shade!
"Soft scenes of contentment and ease!
"Where I could have happily stray'd,
"If aught in her absence could please.
"But where does my Phillida stray?
"And where are her grots and her bowers?
"Are the groves and the valleys as gay,
"And the shepherds as gentle as ours?
"The groves may perhaps be as fair,
"And the face of the valleys as fine;
"The swains may in manners compare;
"But their love is not equal to mine."

This zealous and continued attention to the improvement of our poetry, in its various branches, did not prevent imagination and sentiment from flowing in other channels. A classical form was given to the *Comic Romance* by Fielding and Smollett, who painted modern manners with great force of colouring, as well as truth of delineation, and gave to the ludicrous features of life all the heightenings of wit, humour, and satire.

Richardson, no less classical, created a new species of fiction, which may be called the *Epic of Civil Life*; as it exhibits, in an extended and artfully-constructed fable, and in a variety of strongly-marked characters, under the influence of different passions, and in different pursuits, the beauty and dignity of virtue, and the meanness and deformity of vice, without any ludicrous circumstance, or display of warlike exploits.

The principal productions of these authors, under the well-known names of *Tom Jones*, *Roderic Random*, *Sir Charles Grandison*, *Clarissa*[12], and *Amelia*, seemed for a time wholly to occupy the attention, and even to turn the heads of the younger part of the nation. But the histories of Robertson and Hume appeared, and romances were contemptuously neglected. A new taste was introduced. The lovers of mere amusement found, that real incidents, properly selected and disposed (setting aside the idea of utility) and real characters delineated with truth and force, could more strongly engage both the mind and heart than any fabulous narrative. This taste afterward gave birth to many other elegant historical productions.

I must now carry forward the progress of arts and of manners, and of those branches of polite literature which are most intimately connected with both.

[12] Lovelace, the principal male character in this celebrated romance, is evidently a copy of Rowe's Lothario, in the *Fair Penitent*. This Dr. Johnson owns, but adds, that the imitator "has excelled his original in the moral effect of the fiction. Lothario, with gaiety which cannot be hated, and bravery which cannot be despised, retains too much of the reader's kindness. It was in the *power* of Richardson *alone* to teach us at once *esteem* and *detestation*." But Dr. Beattie, another formidable critic, and the friend of Dr. Johnson, is of a very different opinion. "Richardson's Lovelace," says he, "whom the reader ought to abominate for his crimes, is adorned with youth, beauty, eloquence, wit, and every intellectual and bodily accomplishment; is there not then reason to apprehend that some readers will be more inclined to admire the gay profligate, than to fear his punishment?" So contentious a science is criticism!—and so little reference have the opinions of the learned, in matters of taste, to any common standard!

The immature and unexpected death of queen Anne was friendly to the Protestant Succession; for she certainly intended, as I have had occasion to shew, that her brother should fill the British throne. What might have been the character of the reign of James III. it is impossible decidedly to say, as he was never invested with the administration. But there is great reason to believe, from his superstition and bigotry, that his government would not have been favourable either to civil or religious liberty. The reign of George I. was propitious to both, though not very indulgent to genius. Unacquainted with the beauties of our language, and utterly destitute of taste, like most of his countrymen in that age, this prince paid no attention to literature or the liberal arts. Literature, however, made vigorous shoots by the help of former culture and soil; but manners experienced a woeful decline, and the arts made no advance.

In consequence of the timid, but prudent, policy of that reign, the martial spirit was nearly extinguished in England. The heads of the Tory faction kept at a distance from court, as in the reign of William: and truth obliges me to declare, that the Tories have always been the most munificent patrons of genius, as well as the most accomplished gentlemen in the kingdom. The ministers of George I. were Whigs. Many of them were little better than money-brokers, and the South-Sea scheme made them stock-jobbers. The rapid revolution of property occasioned by that scheme; the number of ancient families ruined, and of new ones raised to opulence; broke down the distinction of ranks, gave rise to a general profusion, and produced a decline of decency and respect.

The corrupt administration of sir Robert Walpole, in the reign of George II. when every man's virtue was supposed to have its price, contributed still further to dissolve the manners and principles of the nation; while the thriving state of manufactures, and a vast influx of money by trade, produced such a deluge of intemperance among the common

people, that the parliament was obliged to interpose its authority, in order to restrain the inordinate use of spirituous liquors. And after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, military force was often necessary to suppress the licentiousness of riot; which, under pretence of want, occasioned by dearth of provisions, but really in the wantonness of abundance, long distracted the whole kingdom.

The war which commenced in 1755 united all hearts and all hands in opposing the common enemy. In the course of that glorious war, at first so unpropitious, the relaxation of manners totally disappeared. The national spirit recovered its tone. Wisdom was found in the cabinet, and ability displayed itself both in the senate and the field. Military ardor rose to heroism, and public virtue to the utmost height of patriotism. And although the peace of Paris did not procure us all the advantages we had reason to expect, it yet left the British empire great and flourishing; with trade considerably augmented; territory immensely extended; and a numerous body of brave and industrious people, employed in supplying with manufactures the demands of commerce, or occupied in the labours of husbandry.

In times of such great national prosperity, it might be expected that public spectacles would be numerous and splendid, and that the liberal arts, though neglected by government, would be encouraged by the public, and patronised by opulent individuals. This was literally the case. Beside a magnificent Italian opera, the capital supported two English theatres; and those theatres were well supplied with new pieces, the profits of which amply recompensed the labour of their authors.

The comedies of Steele were followed by those of Cibber, who has given us, in his *Careless Husband*, a finished picture of polite life. The formal style and sententious morality of Addison's *Cato*, in a smaller or greater degree, distinguish all the tragedies of Thomson. Those of Southern and Young are more impassioned, though in other respects

no less faulty. Southern, who was intimately acquainted with the human breast, has some exquisitely pathetic scenes. But his stories are too uniformly distressing; and *Oroonoko*, his best piece, is interlarded with low comedy. *Isabella*, written in the reign of George I. has fewer faults, and fewer, yet many, beauties. It is a mournful tale indeed!—Young's *Revenge* has great merit. The fable is well constructed, the style is easy and animated; the characters are strongly marked, and the poetic spirit is supported throughout the piece. But it has few of the genuine charms of nature, and too many of those *terrible graces*, which have drawn upon our stage the imputation of barbarism.

The history of the stage is a subject of great philosophical curiosity; as it is, in every nation, intimately connected with the history of manners. Even from the mode of playing in different ages, there is something to be gathered beyond the gratification of idle curiosity. Our tragic performers, before the appearance of Garrick, seem to have had a very imperfect notion of their business. As they could have few opportunities of observing the motions, and still fewer of hearing the discourse, of royal personages, especially on great and momentous subjects, or while under the influence of strong passions, they had recourse to imagination; and gave to all the speeches of such exalted characters, and by habit to those of every character, an inarticulate deep-toned monotony, which had small resemblance to the human voice, accompanied with a strutting stateliness of gesture, that was altogether unnatural, but which they mistook for majesty. To acquire only the *tread of the stage* was a work of years.

But no sooner did Garrick set his foot upon the theatre than this difficulty vanished. Having a sound judgment, a just taste, and keen sensibility, with a discernment so acute as to enable him to look into the inmost recesses of the heart; a marking countenance; an eye full of lustre; a fine ear; a musical and articulate voice, with an uncommon power of modulating it to every tone of passion, he rose at once to

the height of his profession, and taught the sympathising spectators, that kings and heroes were men, and spoke, and moved, and felt, like the rest of their species. Other players followed his easy and natural manner, to the great advantage of theatrical representation.

This new style of acting introduced a new taste in writing. Instead of the rant and fustian of Dryden and Lee, which the old players delighted to mouth, Garrick and his disciples displayed their bewitching power of moving the passions chiefly in the pathetic and awful scenes of Shakspeare and Otway, to which they drew more general admiration. And Aaron Hill, a great promoter of natural playing, having adapted to the English stage several of the elegant and interesting tragedies of Voltaire, gave variety to theatrical exhibitions. In the *Zara* and the *Merope* he was particularly successful. Originals were composed in the same just taste. Among these, we still see with pleasure the *Gamester*, *Douglas*, and *Barbarossa*. The *Elfrida* and *Caractacus* of Mason, and the *Medea* of Glover, are equally pregnant with nature and passion. Written in imitation of the Greek drama, and worthy of the Athenian stage, they have all been represented on that of London with applause; but they have not yet made us converts to the ancient manners.

The genius of Garrick, as an actor, was not confined to tragedy. In many parts of comedy he was no less excellent; and his taste, and his situation as a manager, enabled him to draw to light several neglected pieces of great merit. The comic muse, however, was backward in her favours for a time. We had few new comedies of any merit till Hoadly produced the *Suspicious Husband*, and Foote those inimitable *sketches of real life*, which were so long the delight of the town, and justly procured him the appellation of the English Aristophanes. At length Colman, in the *Jealous Wife* and *Clandestine Marriage*, united the humour of Plautus to the elegance of Terence; and our comedy seemed to be perfected. But a new species of comedy was afterward imported

from France; in which, as often happens in the great drama of the world, ludicrous and interesting circumstances were blended, and scenes of humour interchanged with those of sentiment. Kelly's *False Delicacy*, and Cumberland's *West Indian*, are pieces of considerable merit in this new taste.

Besides its connexion with manners and literature, the stage has an intimate alliance with painting and music. Of this alliance the English stage has not failed to take advantage, or of that which is derived from machinery and architecture. Our whole scenery is perhaps superior to that of any theatre in ancient or modern times, and also our theatrical wardrobe, as our dresses certainly are better adapted to the characters which the actors represent. Our theatrical directors observe the *costume* more perfectly than those of any other country[13].

The effect of our landscapes and sea-pieces, by the power of perspective and the *extrinsic* help of *illumination* and *obscurity*, is equal if not superior to that of nature; and these enchanting scenes, in conjunction with music and dancing, give to the *mute drama* an illusive charm, a deception that seems to border on magic.

As dancing claims some remarks on this occasion, it may be observed, that this art has of late been carried to great perfection among us, as well as among our neighbours on the continent; so as not only to keep time to music in graceful motion, but to be at the same time expressive of a series of action, and a fluctuation of passion. As human beings, however, endowed with the distinguishing faculty of speech, let us not set too high a value upon this light-heeled corporeal language, which it is possible to teach even to so rude an animal as a bear; and in which, as far as it is mimetic of hunting or war, its two favourite subjects, an American savage is much more perfect than Slingsby, Vestris, or Heinel. Theatrical music deserves more attention.

[13] This beautiful propriety, which gives so much truth to good acting, we owe chiefly to the classical taste and enlightened understanding of Garrick.

Music formed an essential part of the dramatic entertainments of the ancients. In those of the moderns, and especially in ours, it was long only an occasional auxiliary. Our first successful musical piece, the celebrated *Beggar's Opera* of Gay, is said to have been written in *ridicule* of the Italian opera; though I am fully persuaded the author foresaw the pleasure the *Comic Opera* would afford to an English audience, independent of that circumstance, and only called in the contrast of character, to procure a more ready reception to his new drama. If burlesque had been his chief object, he would have made Macheath and all his gang warble Italian airs.

Gay, on the contrary, adapted the words of his songs to *native* tunes. These tunes had all been heard by most of the visitants of the theatre in early life, when the mind was free from care; in the scenes of rural innocence, or the walks of gay frolic, when the youthful heart beat high with ambitious hope, or reposed in the luxury of infantine passion; while reason was lost in dreams of ineffable delight, and fancy was fed with illusions of unchangeable love. Every tune recalled some agreeable feeling, or former happy state of mind. The effect of the music, therefore, might almost be termed magical; and it would have been still greater, if the airs had been sung by persons whom the auditors could have loved or respected. But, as this was not the case, the *Beggar's Opera*, in consequence of its musical enchantment, had a very immoral tendency. It served to dignify the character of a highwayman, and to familiarise, and even to reconcile the mind to such flagitious scenes as ought ever to be held in distant abhorrence; the nocturnal orgies of robbers and prostitutes; their levity in the cells of Newgate, and their indifference at the prospect of ignominiously paying the debt of justice on *Tyburn-tree!*—Nor was this all. The author, by putting into the mouths of such wretches not only the tunes, but a parody upon the words of some of our most admired love-songs, threw a stronger

ridicule upon genuine passion and virtuous tenderness than upon the Italian opera.

Notwithstanding the great success of this musical piece, we had no other comic opera of any merit for many years. The singularity of the subject, and the continued applause paid to the *Beggar's Opera*, deterred imitation and precluded rivalry. In the mean time the celebrated Handel, who had disagreed with the proprietors of the Opera-house or Italian theatre, brought on the English stage a new species of musical drama, to which he gave the name of *Oratorio*, and in which he exerted all his powers of combining harmony, to the delight and astonishment of the whole musical world. But the oratorio, which has already lost its hold of the public taste, has so many radical defects, as a theatrical entertainment, as must for ever prevent it from being in general request. It has fable and dialogue, but neither action, scenery, nor characteristic dresses.

Dr. Arne, sensible of the imperfections of the Oratorio, attempted to inspire his countrymen with a taste for the *Serious Opera*. With this view, he set to excellent music, and brought upon the English stage, a translation of the Artaxerxes of Metastasio; which was received with the most enthusiastic applause, and is still a favourite performance. Yet, extraordinary as it may seem, we have scarcely any other serious opera that is even tolerated. Musical tragedy is happily little suited to the general taste of an English audience, which requires a more masculine composition.

Our musical comedy made greater progress. It was much refined and improved, by the exclusion of profligate manners, and by the judicious mixture of scenes of sentiment with those of humour; as in *Love in a Village*, the *Duenna*, and some other pieces of a similar kind, which deservedly met with a favourable reception. Even these, however, appear to be losing ground. Many of our comic operas are already transformed into after-pieces; and as such they will always please.

Since the charm of novelty has ceased, the good sense of the people of England seems still to require a standard comedy or tragedy, as their principal theatrical dish:—and music has other walks to occupy. The grand concerts in the capital, and in every considerable town, afford ample scope to native composers; whilst the Opera-house calls forth all the talents of foreign masters, as well as all the powers of execution, both vocal and instrumental, by the most liberal rewards, for the entertainment of the nobility and gentry.

The advances of the other arts considered as elegant, in England, during the eighteenth century, open a wide field for investigation, at which I can only glance. Nor am I required to enter deeply into it by my subject; a general view of improvement being the sole purpose of this letter. The improvements in manufactures and the mechanical arts I have already carried forward by anticipation, in tracing the progress of Commerce [14]; though perhaps I have not been sufficiently particular in some articles, such as the great perfection to which the printing of linen and of cotton has been carried, so as to surpass in beauty the fabrics of India; or paper for the lining of rooms, which has been taught to imitate velvet and satin, and even to rival tapestry. Nor ought I to omit the taste and fancy displayed in the patterns of our figured silks; or in our carpets, which vie with those of Persia in fabric, equal them in lustre, and exceed them in harmony of colours.

Our sepulchral monuments, at the close of the seventeenth century, were mere masonry, and executed in a very bad taste. The excellent carvings of Gibbons in wood excepted, we had properly no sculpture. Kneller, our only painter of any eminence, was a foreigner, and employed himself chiefly on portraits. Rysbrach, Scheemaker, and Roubiliac, who afterward adorned Westminster Abbey with many sculptured monuments worthy of ancient Greece, also were foreigners. We were more fortunate in native architects.

14 Part II. Let. XXVII.

Inigo Jones found a successor not unworthy of himself in sir Christopher Wren, rendered immortal by the plan of St. Paul's and of St. Stephen's Walbrook; exclusive of his other great designs—of that of Greenwich Hospital, or the additions to the palace of Hampton Court.

Wren was succeeded by the classical lord Burlington, a liberal patron of the arts, and no contemptible professor, and by the ponderous but inventive Kent; whose plan of Holkham in Norfolk, and whose temple of Venus in Stowe Gardens, if he had designed nothing else, would entitle him to a distinguished rank among modern architects. But Kent was greatly surpassed, in architecture, by sir William Chambers, Wyat, Adam, and others, who adorned the capital and every part of the kingdom with edifices in the purest taste of antiquity; who united elegance with conveniency, and lightness with solidity. Nor should Milne be forgotten, to whom we are indebted for Blackfriars'-bridge, a work to which antiquity can afford no parallel[15].

We had, at the same time, native statuaries of considerable merit. But Bacon and Nollekens produced nothing equal to the Hercules of Rysbrach, Scheemaker's Shakespeare, or the Handel and Newton of Roubiliac[16].

Hogarth, the first eminent English painter, if we except

[15] Westminster bridge, not perhaps less noble, though surely less elegant, was executed on the plan of a Frenchman.

[16] Of these celebrated statues, the most excellent is the Hercules, compiled from various parts of the body and limbs (which the sculptor supposed to be most truly formed) of seven or eight of the strongest and best-made men in England, chiefly champions in the amphitheatre for bruising, under the protection of the late duke of Cumberland. The Newton of Roubiliac has also great merit; but the late earl of Orford thought "the *air* a little too *pert* "for so *grave* a man." Mr. Scott, a man of taste and genius, was of a different opinion.

> "Behold! (a prism within his hands)
> "*Absorb'd in thought* great Newton stands:
> "Such was his *brow* and *look serene*,
> "His *serious gait* and *musing mien*."
>
> ODE TO SCULPTURE.

Scott, who excelled in sea-pieces, may be said to have formed a new school. Above the Flemish comic painters, who servilely copied *low life*, or debased it into farce, and below the best Italian masters, who generally drew exalted characters, and elevated human nature, as far as it was possible for men degraded by civil and religious slavery, he delineated, like Fielding and Smollett, the ludicrous features of *middling life*; with as much truth and force as either, and with a more direct view to a moral purpose. They who are in doubt about this point need only consult his *Harlot's Progress*, his *Rake's Progress*, his *Marriage-à-la-Mode*, and his *Stages of Cruelty*.

But Hogarth knew nothing of the elegance of design, the delicacy of drawing, or the magic of colours. These were reserved for English painters of a higher order, who, if they did not attain all the force of colouring, truth of drawing, and strength of expression, to be found in the greatest Italian masters, made ample amends by the judicious choice of their subjects. Instead of crucifixions, flagellations, last suppers, and holy families, they gave second life to heroes and legislators. They made public virtue visible in some of its most meritorious acts: they painted as became the sons of freedom. Nor need I be afraid to affirm, that Copley's *Death of the Earl of Chatham*, West's *Departure of Regulus*, his *Pennsylvania Charter*, and his *Death of Wolfe*, to say nothing of the *Ugolino* of sir Joshua Reynolds, fill the mind with nobler ideas, and awaken the heart to more generous emotions, than were ever communicated by the pencil of any slave that kneeled at the altar of superstition[17].

[17] "Since *affections* of *every kind* are equally within the painter's *power*," says Quintilian, "it is of great importance that he should apply himself to "*excite* only such as are *subservient* to *good morals*." (*Inst. Orat.* lib. xi.) And Aristotle, among other instructions, gives it in charge to the governors of youth, "that they allow them to see no pictures but those which have such "moral tendency." (*Polit.* lib. viii.) The reason of this caution is founded in the depths of philosophy, in an equal knowledge of human nature and the influence of the arts; for there can remain no doubt, that whatever addresses

Fortunately for the lovers of embellishment, engraving, of which painting may be said to be the prototype, did not make less progress in England during the eighteenth century than the parent art. Historical pictures can only become the property of the rich and great; and they are very liable, beside, to be injured by time or accident. Hence arises the utility of engraving on plates of copper. It multiplies copies at a moderate price; and its representations, if less perfect than those of the pencil, are more compact and durable. We have excellent prints of all our own capital paintings, and also of most of those of the celebrated Italian masters. At the head of our native improvers of this elegant and ingenious art, we must place Strange and Woollet. The former excelled chiefly in copying human figures, the latter in landscape. Both, however, had several formidable rivals in every branch of the art; and the unhappy Ryland was perhaps equal to either.

We have yet another flourishing art, deservedly considered as liberal, and which is of English origin, unless we should allow to the Chinese a share of the honour of the invention; namely, MODERN GARDENING, or the art of *painting a field* with natural and artificial objects, disposed like colours upon a canvas. For this art, which was unknown to the ancients, we are indebted to the taste and genius of Kent. He taught us to *imitate* nature, or (more properly speaking) *to act upon her plan*, in forming our pleasure-grounds, instead of impressing upon every natural object the hard stamp of art. He taught us, that the perfection of gardening consists in humouring and adorning, not in constraining or disguising nature; consequently, that straight walks, regular parterres,

itself immediately to the *eye* by an *actual representation* of *objects*, must *affect* the *youthful mind*, and indeed all minds, especially the least cultivated, more than any form of words, or combination of *articulate sound*, *significant* of *ideas* merely by *convention*. Yet we are told by a famed connoisseur (*Anecdotes of Painting in England*), "that *pictures* cannot *adapt* themselves to the *meanest capacities*, as unhappily the *tongue* can."

circular and square pieces of water, and trees cut in the shape of animals, are utterly inconsistent with true taste. In a word, the whole secret of modern gardening consists in making proper use of natural scenery, wood and water, hill and valley, in conjunction with architecture, so as to give beauty and variety to the embellished ground; in judiciously veiling and exposing the surrounding country; in contrasting the luxuriant meadow with the barren heath, the verdant slope with the rugged steep, the sylvan temple with the ruined tower, the meandering rill with the majestic river, and the smooth surface of the lake, or artificial sea, with Nature's most sublime object, a view of the boundless and ever-agitated ocean.

Milton seems to have had a distinct idea of this kind of gardening, as far as it regards the particular spot:

"Through Eden went a *river large*;
" Nor *chang'd* his *course*, but *through* the *shaggy hill*
" Pass'd *underneath* ingulph'd; for God had *thrown*
" That *mountain* as his *garden mound*, high rais'd
" Upon the *rapid current*,—which, *through veins*
" Of *porous earth* with kindly thirst updrawn,
" *Rose a fresh fountain*, and with *many a rill*
" *Water'd* the *garden*.
"From that *sapphire fount* the *crisped brooks*,
" *Rolling* on *orient pearl* and *sands* of *gold*,
" With *mazy error*, under *pendent shades*,
" Ran nectar, *visiting* each *plant*, and *fed*
" *Flowers* worthy of Paradise; which not *nice art*
" In *beds* and *curious knots*, but *nature boon*
" *Pour'd* forth *profuse* on *hill*, and *dale*, and *plain*;
" Both where the *morning sun* first *warmly smote*
" The *open field*, and where the *unpierc'd shade*
" *Imbrown'd* the *noon-tide bowers*."

This is certainly, to use the poet's own words, " a happy

rural scene of *various view*[18]." But Milton, like all the gardeners of his time, or of those which had preceded it, confined his paradise within high boundaries, and consequently excluded distant and rude prospect, the grand charm in modern gardening; for

> " the *champaign head*
> " Of *a steep wilderness*, whose hairy sides
> " With thicket over-grown, grotesque and wild,
> " *Access denied*; and *overhead* up-*grew*
> " *Insuperable height* of *loftiest shade*,
> " Cedar, and pine, and fir, and branching palm."

The man who first threw down the garden-wall, and sunk the fosse, whether Kent or Bridgeman, may be truly said to have broken the spell that enabled the necromancer Art to hold the fair damsel Nature so long in chains, and to have made the terraqueous globe but one great garden. From that moment, beauty began to connect itself with utility, and grandeur with rustic labour; the pleasure-ground with the pastured and cultivated field, the gravel-walk with the public road, and the garden-lake with the navigable canal and the sea—that glorious fountain of universal communication among men, which enables the philosopher, the merchant, and the mariner, to visit every shore, and makes all things common to all.

While our countrymen were thus successfully employed in extending the circle of the arts, and in embellishing external nature, science was not neglected: they were not

[18] The resemblance of Milton's *Eden* to a garden laid out in the modern taste was first noticed by the late penetrating lord Kaimes, in chap. xxiv. of his *Elements of Criticism*, printed in 1762. " Milton," says he, " justly " prefers the grand taste to that of regularity;" and he quotes part of the above extract, in confirmation of his remark. Yet Horace Walpole, the late earl of Orford, in retailing the same observation, almost twenty years later, seemed to assume the merit of it, and to congratulate himself, as if he had made an important discovery.

inattentive to the motions of the heavens, or the operations of the human mind. Locke and Newton had their successors, as well as Dryden and Milton. Halley illustrated the theory of the tides, and increased the catalogue of the stars; while Maclaurin made great progress in algebra, and Gregory reduced astronomy to a regular system. These men of genius were succeeded by very able mathematicians; but the æra of mathematical discovery seems to be past. Greater proficiency has been made in other sciences, with which Newton was little acquainted. The vegetable system of Tull has led to great improvements in agriculture; and the bold discoveries of Franklin, in electricity, may be said to have given birth to a new science. With the purpose to be served by many of those discoveries, which at present so strongly engage the attention of philosophers, we are yet as much in the dark as in regard to the electric principle itself. But the beneficial effects of electricity in many medical cases, and the invention of metallic conductors, by which buildings and ships are preserved from the destructive force of lightning, entitle it to notice in a view of the progress of society, even if it should otherwise disappoint the hopes of its fond admirers.

Among the successors of Locke, Hume is entitled to the first place: not that his metaphysical inquiries are more acute than those of Berkeley, Baxter, Hartley, or perhaps of Reid; but because his discoveries, like those of his great master, have a more intimate relation to human affairs—are of universal application in science, and closely connected with the leading principles of the arts. His beautiful analysis of the ASSOCIATION of IDEAS, which he comprehends under three general heads, namely, *Resemblance*, including contrast, *Contiguity* in time or place, and *Cause* or *Effect*; and his ingenious *Theory of the Passions*, or the COMMUNICATION of EMOTIONS, immediately laid the foundation of that PHILOSOPHY *of the* FINE ARTS which was afterward formed into a system by lord Kaimes, and which has since been illustrated by other elegant writers.

But none of those writers illustrated the principles of Mr. Hume so happily as himself. They may be said, indeed, only to have written commentaries on his illustrations. One example will justify this remark. The subject is *Unity of Action*, about which all critics, after Aristotle, had talked so much, and to so little purpose, while they *directed* not their *taste* or *sentiment* by the *accuracy of philosophy*. "It appears," says he, "that in all productions, as well as the epic and "tragic, there is a certain UNITY required, if we would pro-"duce a work which will give any lasting entertainment to "mankind. An annalist or historian, who should undertake "to write the HISTORY OF EUROPE, during any century, "would be influenced by the *connexion* of *Contiguity* in *time* "and *place* All events, which happen in that portion of "space, and period of time, are comprehended in his design, "though in other respects different and unconnected. They "have still a species of *unity* amid all their *diversity*. But "the most usual species of *connexion*, among the different "*events* which enter into any *narrative composition*, is that of "*Cause* and *Effect*; while the historian *traces* the *series* of "*actions* according to their *natural order*, remounts to their "*secret springs* and *principles*, and *delineates* their most *remote* "*consequences*."

If Mr. Hume was happy in illustrating his metaphysical system, he was yet more successful in exemplifying it. His Moral, Political, and Literary Essays, are perfect models of philosophical investigation. He is altogether logical, without the logical forms: he unites the plain perspicuity of Locke to the synthetic precision of Wollaston and the analytical accuracy of Harris. But this great man, who has carried human reasoning to the utmost point of perfection, has endeavoured, by sceptical doubts, to destroy the certainty of all reasoning, and to undermine the foundation of both natural and revealed religion. His attack upon the latter leads to a very curious and important inquiry; "the State "of Christianity in England during the Eighteenth Century."

I shall endeavour to trace the outlines of the subject, by way of termination to this view of the Progress of Society.

That general toleration, which was the immediate consequence of the Revolution, gave birth to great freedom of discussion in the affairs of religion. The crowd of sectaries, no longer united by the common bond of persecution, or restrained by fear from unveiling the supposed errors of the church, entered into a bold investigation of the sublime mysteries of Christianity. And the apostles of each sect keenly censured the tenets of all who presumed to differ from them on any particular point. Numerous disputes were warmly agitated about doctrines of no importance to the rational Christian.

But this pious warfare was not sufficient to keep alive the fervour of zeal, either in the church or among the dissenters, in a state of unbounded liberty of conscience. A general moderation began to prevail, and the more enlightened sectaries seemed ready to join the hierarchy; when certain fiery spirits, filled with indignation at such lukewarmness, and panting for the crown of martyrdom, gave birth to new sects of a warmer complexion, and obliged the heads of the old to enforce their particular tenets, in order to prevent the utter desertion of their followers. Whitfield and Wesley in England, and the two Erskines in Scotland, rekindled in all its ardour the flame of enthusiasm, which raged, for a time, with dazzling brightness, in spite of the utmost efforts of reason and ridicule. But the fuel of persecution, the stake and the faggot, being happily with-holden, it has now in a great measure spent its force. Nor have the Methodists yet been able to number one martyr among the multitude of their saints.

The spirit of infidelity (as it always will, in an enlightened age) kept pace with that of enthusiasm. As many of the wilder sectaries laid claim to divine illuminations, and in their ravings pretended to prophesy, some men of sceptical principles endeavoured to bring into *suspicion*, and even to

destroy the *credibility* of all *prophecy;* while others called in question the *authenticity* of the *sacred books*, both historical and prophetical. At the head of those sceptical writers, and the most dangerous because the most agreeable, may be placed Shaftesbury and Bolingbroke.

Tindal, in his *Christianity as old as the Creation*, denied the *necessity* of the *Gospel;* as it promulgated, he affirmed, no principle or precept with which mankind were not formerly acquainted. Hume, in his *Essay on Miracles*, struck directly at its foundation, by attempting to shew, that no *human testimony* is sufficient to establish the reality of a *miracle*. And an author, no less able or learned than either, has written an historical deduction, to prove that Christianity is of *human origin*.

But these bold attacks have only served more firmly to establish true religion, while they have given a severe check to enthusiasm. They have led divines to examine minutely the proofs of Revelation, and rendered them sensible of the propriety of explaining more rationally the mysteries in the Christian system; especially that of the Trinity, the Incarnation of the Word, and the miraculous influence of Grace upon the human soul. The consequence has been, that all men of *sound minds* and *good morals* conform outwardly to the religion of their country, and most of them *sincerely believe* it to be of *divine origin*. The debasing doctrine of materialism has been exploded, as unfriendly to all that is liberal in the human character, or endearing in the human condition[19]; for he who considers this earthly spot as the only theatre of his existence, and its grave, instead of his first stage in progressive being, can never view nature with a cheerful, or man with a benevolent, eye.

19 A learned divine has attempted to give a new complexion to this doctrine; but his opinions are too whimsical to be generally received.

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FINIS.

T. Davison, Whitefriars.